THE

WORKS

OF THE

Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift,

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK's, DUBLIN.

ARRANGED, REVISED, AND CORRECTED,
WITH NOTES,
By THOMAS SHERIDAN, A. M.

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A TRI-

A

TRITICAL ESSAY

UPON THE

FACULTIES OF THE MIND.

To ———

SIR,

BEING ſo great a lover of antiquities, it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, you would be very much obliged with any thing that was new. I have been of late offended with many writers of eſſays and moral diſcourſes, for running into ſtale topicks and thread-bare quotations, and not handling their ſubject fully and cloſely: all which errors I have carefully avoided in the following eſſay, which I have propoſed as a pattern for young writers to imitate. The thoughts and obſervations being entirely new, the quotations untouched by others, the ſubject of mighty importance, and treated with much order and perſpicuity, it has coſt me a great deal of time; and I deſire you will accept and conſider it as the utmoſt effort of my genius.

A

TRITICAL ESSAY

UPON THE

FACULTIES OF THE MIND.

PHILOSOPHERS ſay, that man is a microcoſm, or little world, reſembling in miniature every part of the great: and, in my opinion, the body natural may be compared to the body politic: and if this be ſo, how can the Epicurean's opinion be true, that the univerſe was formed by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms; which I will no more believe, than that the accidental jumbling of the letters of the alphabet, could fall by chance into a moſt ingenious and learned treatiſe of philoſophy. *Riſum teneatis amici?* [HOR.] This falſe opinion muſt needs create many more; it is like an error in the firſt concoction, which cannot be corrected in the ſecond; the foundation is weak, and whatever ſuperſtructure you raiſe upon it, muſt of neceſſity fall to the ground. Thus men are led from one error to another, until with Ixion they embrace a cloud inſtead of Juno; or like the dog in the fable,

loſe the ſubſtance in gaping at the ſhadow. For ſuch opinions cannot cohere; but like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, muſt ſeparate and break in pieces. I have read in a certain author, that Alexander wept becauſe he had no more worlds to conquer; which he needed not have done, if the fortuitous concourſe of atoms could create one: but this is an opinion, fitter for that many-headed beaſt, the vulgar, to entertain, than for ſo wiſe a man as Epicurus; the corrupt part of his ſect only borrowed his name, as the monkey did the cat's claw, to draw the cheſnut out of the fire.

However, the firſt ſtep to the cure, is to know the diſeaſe; and though truth may be difficult to find, becauſe, as the philoſopher obſerves, ſhe lives in the bottom of a well, yet we need not, like blind men, grope in open day-light. I hope I may be allowed, among ſo many far more learned men, to offer my mite, ſince a ſtander-by may ſometimes perhaps ſee more of the game, than he that plays it. But I do not think a philoſopher obliged to account for every phænomenon in nature, or drown himſelf with Ariſtotle, for not being able to ſolve the ebbing and flowing of the tide, in that fatal ſentence he paſt upon himſelf, *Quia te non capio, tu capies me.* Wherein he was at once the judge and the criminal, the accuſer and executioner. Socrates, on the other hand, who ſaid he knew nothing, was pronounced by the oracle to be the wiſeſt man in the world.

But to return from this digreſſion: I think it as clear as any demonſtration of Euclid, that nature does nothing in vain; if we were able to dive into her ſecret receſſes, we ſhould find that the ſmalleſt blade of graſs, or moſt contemptible weed, has its particular uſe; but ſhe is chiefly admirable in her minuteſt compoſitions, the leaſt and moſt contemptible inſect, moſt diſcovers the art of nature, if I may ſo call it, though nature, which delights in variety, will always triumph over art: and as the poet obſerves,

Naturam expellas furca licet, uſque recurret. HOR.

But the various opinions of philoſophers, have ſcattered through the world as many plagues of the mind, as Pandora's box did thoſe of the body; only with this difference, that they have not left hope at the bottom. And if truth be not fled with Aſtrea, ſhe is certainly as hidden as the ſource of Nile, and can be found only in Utopia. Not that I would reflect on thoſe wiſe ſages, which would be a ſort of ingratitude; and he that calls a man ungrateful, ſums up all the evil that a man can be guilty of,

Ingratum ſi dixeris, omnia dicis.

But, what I blame the philoſophers for, (though ſome may think it a paradox) is chiefly their pride; nothing leſs than an *ipſe dixit*, and you muſt pin your faith on their ſleeve. And though Diogenes lived in a tub, there might be, for aught I know,

as much pride under his rags, as in the fine ſpun garments of the divine Plato. It is reported of this Diogenes, that when Alexander came to ſee him, and promiſed to give him whatever he would aſk, the Cynick only anſwered, " Take not from me " what thou canſt not give me, but ſtand from " between me and the light;" which was almoſt as extravagant as the philoſopher, that flung his money into the ſea, with this remarkable ſaying ———

How different was this man from the uſurer, who being told his ſon would ſpend all he had got, replied, " He cannot take more pleaſure in ſpend- " ing, than I did in getting it." Theſe men could ſee the faults of each other, but not their own; thoſe they flung into the bag behind; *non videmus id manticæ quod in tergo eſt.* I may perhaps be cenſured for my free opinions by thoſe carping Momus's, whom authors worſhip, as the Indians do the devil, for fear. They will endeavour to give my reputation as many wounds, as the man in the almanack; but I value it not; and perhaps like flies, they may buz ſo often about the candle, till they burn their wings. They muſt pardon me, if I venture to give them this advice, not to rail at what they cannot underſtand: it does but diſcover that ſelf-tormenting paſſion of envy, than which the greateſt tyrant never invented a more cruel torment.

Invidia Siculi non invenere Tyranni
Tormentum majus— Juv.

I muſt

I muſt be ſo bold to tell my criticks and witlings, that they can no more judge of this, than a man that is born blind, can have any true idea of colours. I have always obſerved, that your empty veſſels ſound loudeſt: I value their laſhes as little as the ſea did thoſe of Xerxes, when he whipped it. The utmoſt favour a man can expect from them is, that which Polyphemus promiſed Ulyſſes, that he would devour him the laſt: they think to ſubdue a writer, as Cæſar did his enemy, with a *Veni, vidi, vici.* I confeſs I value the opinion of the judicious few, a Rymer, a Dennis, or a W——k; but for the reſt, to give my judgment at once, I think the long diſpute among the philoſophers about a *vacuum*, may be determined in the affirmative, that it is to be found in a critick's head. They are at beſt but the drones of the learned world, who devour the honey, and will not work themſelves; and a writer need no more regard them, than the moon does the barking of a little ſenſeleſs cur. For, in ſpite of their terrible roaring, you may, with half an eye, diſcover the aſs under the lion's ſkin.

But to return to our diſcourſe: Demoſthenes being aſked what was the firſt part of an orator, replied, action: what was the ſecond, action: what was the third, action: and ſo on *ad infinitum.* This may be true in oratory; but contemplation, in other things, exceeds action. And therefore a wiſe man is never leſs alone, than when he is alone:

Nunquam minus ſolus, quam cùm ſolus.

And Archimedes, the famous mathematician, was ſo intent upon his problems, that he never minded the ſoldier who came to kill him. Therefore, not to detract from the juſt praiſe which belongs to orators, they ought to conſider that nature, which gave us two eyes to ſee, and two ears to hear, has given us but one tongue to ſpeak; wherein however ſome do ſo abound, that the virtuoſi, who have been ſo long in ſearch for the perpetual motion, may infallibly find it there.

Some men admire republicks, becauſe orators flouriſh there moſt, and are the greateſt enemies of tyranny: but my opinion is, that one tyrant is better than a hundred. Beſides, theſe orators inflame the people, whoſe anger is really but a ſhort fit of madneſs,

Ira furor brevis eſt.—— HOR.

After which, laws are like cobwebs, which may catch ſmall flies, but let waſps and hornets break through. But in oratory the greateſt art is to hide art,

Artis eſt celare artem.

But this muſt be the work of time, we muſt lay hold on all opportunities, and let ſlip no occaſion; elſe we ſhall be forced to weave Penelope's web, unravel in the night, what we ſpun in the day. And therefore I have obſerved, that time is painted with a lock before, and bald behind, ſignifying thereby, that we muſt take time (as we ſay)

by

by the forelock, for when it is once paſt, there is no recalling it.

The mind of man is at firſt (if you will pardon the expreſſion) like a *tabula raſa*, or like wax, which, while it is ſoft, is capable of any impreſſion, till time has hardened it. And at length death, that grim tyrant, ſtops us in the midſt of our career. The greateſt conquerors have at laſt been conquered by death, which ſpares none, from the ſceptre to the ſpade.

Mors omnibus communis.

All rivers go to the ſea, but none return from it. Xerxes wept when he beheld his army, to conſider that in leſs than a hundred years, they would be all dead. Anacreon was choaked with a grape-ſtone; and violent joy kills as well as violent grief. There is nothing in this world conſtant, but inconſtancy; yet Plato thought, that if virtue would appear to the world in her own native dreſs, all men would be enamoured with her. But now, ſince intereſt governs the world, and men neglect the golden mean, Jupiter himſelf, if he came to the earth, would be deſpiſed, unleſs it were, as he did to Danae, in a golden ſhower: for men now-a-days worſhip the riſing ſun, and not the ſetting.

Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos.

Thus have I, in obédience to your commands, ventured to expoſe myſelf to cenſure, in this cri-

tical age. Whether I have done right to my ſubject, muſt be left to the judgment of my learned reader: however, I cannot but hope, that my attempting of it, may be an encouragement for ſome able pen, to perform it with more ſucceſs.

PREDICTIONS

FOR

THE YEAR 1708.

Wherein the MONTH, and the DAY of the MONTH are ſet down, the PERSONS named, and the GREAT ACTIONS and EVENTS of next YEAR particularly related, as they will come to paſs.

Written to prevent the People of England from being farther impoſed on by vulgar Almanack-makers.

BY ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, ESQ.

I HAVE long conſidered the groſs abuſe of aſtrology in this kingdom, and upon debating the matter with myſelf, I could not poſſibly lay the fault upon the art, but upon thoſe groſs impoſtors, who ſet up to be the artiſts. I know ſeveral learned men have contended, that the whole is a cheat; that it is abſurd and ridiculous to imagine, the ſtars can have any influence at all upon human actions, thoughts, or inclinations; and whoever has not bent his ſtudies that way, may be excuſed for thinking ſo, when he ſees in how wretched a manner that noble art is treated, by a few mean illiterate traders between us and the ſtars; who import a yearly ſtock of nonſenſe, lies, folly,

and impertinence, which they offer to the world as genuine from the planets, though they deſcend from no greater a height than their own brains.

I intend, in a ſhort time, to publiſh a large and rational defence of this art, and therefore ſhall ſay no more in its juſtification at preſent, than that it has been in all ages defended by many learned men, and among the reſt by Socrates himſelf; whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wiſeſt of uninſpired mortals: to which if we add, that thoſe who have condemned this art, though otherwiſe learned, having been ſuch, as either did not apply their ſtudies this way, or at leaſt did not ſucceed in their applications, their teſtimony will not be of much weight to its diſadvantage, ſince they are liable to the common objection, of condemning what they did not underſtand.

Nor * am I at all offended, * or do I think it an injury to the art, when I ſee the common dealers in it, the ſtudents in aſtrology, the philomaths, and the reſt of that tribe, treated by wiſe men with the utmoſt ſcorn and contempt; but I rather wonder, when I obſerve gentlemen in the country, rich enough to ſerve the nation in parliament, poring in Partridge's almanack, to find out the events of the year, at home and abroad; not daring

* In the uſe of theſe disjunctive particles, writers have been very inaccurate, uſing the negative in one part of the ſentence, and the affirmative in the other, as in the above inſtance. 'Nor am I at all offended, or do I think,' &c. It ſhould be, nor do I think, &c. The affirmative ſhould always be followed by an affirmative, the negative by a negative. It ſhould be, either, or; neither, nor.

to propoſe a hunting-match, till Gadbury or he have fixed the weather.

I will allow either of the two I have mentioned, or any other of the fraternity, to be not only aſtrologers, but conjurors too, if I do not produce a hundred inſtances in all their almanacks, to convince any reaſonable man, that they do not ſo much as underſtand common grammar and ſyntax; that they are not able to ſpell any word out of the uſual road, nor, even in their prefaces, to write common ſenſe, or intelligible Engliſh. Then, for their obſervations and predictions, they are ſuch as will equally ſuit any age or country in the world. "This month a certain great perſon will be threat-"ened with death or ſickneſs." This the newspapers will tell them; for there we find at the end of the year, that no month paſſes without the death of ſome perſon of note; and it would be hard, if it ſhould be otherwiſe, when there are at leaſt two thouſand perſons of note in this kingdom, many of them old, and the almanack-maker has the liberty of chooſing the ſicklieſt ſeaſon of the year, where he may fix his prediction. Again, "this month an eminent clergyman will be pre-"ferred;" of which there may be many hundreds, half of them with one foot in the grave. Then, "ſuch a planet in ſuch a houſe ſhews great ma-"chinations, plots and conſpiracies, that may in "time be brought to light:" after which, if we hear of any diſcovery, the aſtrologer gets the honour; if not, his predictions ſtill ſtand good. And at laſt, "God preſerve king William from all his

"open

" open and ſecret enemies, Amen." When if the king ſhould happen to have died, the aſtrologer plainly foretold it; otherwiſe it paſſes for the pious ejaculations of a loyal ſubject: though it unluckily happened in ſome of their almanacks, that poor king William was prayed for many months after he was dead, becauſe it fell out, that he died about the beginning of the year.

To mention no more of their impertinent predictions, what have we to do with their advertiſements about "pills and drink for the venereal diſeaſe?" or their mutual quarrels in verſe and proſe of whig and tory, wherewith the ſtars have little to do?

Having long obſerved and lamented theſe, and a hundred other abuſes of this art too tedious to repeat, I reſolved to proceed in a new way, which I doubt not will be to the general ſatisfaction of the kingdom: I can this year produce but a ſpecimen of what I deſign for the future; having employed moſt part of my time, in adjuſting and correcting the calculations I made ſome years paſt, becauſe I would offer nothing to the world, of which I am not as fully ſatisfied, as that I am now alive. For theſe two laſt years I have not failed in above one or two particulars, and thoſe of no very great moment. I exactly foretold the miſcarriage at Toulon, with all its particulars; and the loſs of admiral Shovel, though I was miſtaken as to the day, placing that article about thirty-ſix hours ſooner than it happened; but upon reviewing my ſchemes, I quickly found the cauſe of that error. I likewiſe foretold the battle of Almanza to the very

day

day and hour, with the loſs on both ſides, and the conſequences thereof. All which I ſhewed to ſome friends many months before they happened; that is, I gave them papers ſealed up, to open at ſuch a time, after which they were at liberty to read them; and there they found my predictions true in every article, except one or two very minute.

As for the few following predictions I now offer the world, I forbore to publiſh them, till I had peruſed the ſeveral almanacks for the year we are now entered upon. I found them all in the uſual ſtrain, and I beg the reader will compare their manner with mine: and here I make bold to tell the world, that I lay the whole credit of my art upon the truth of theſe predictions; and I will be content, that Partridge, and the reſt of his clan, may hoot me for a cheat and impoſtor, if I fail in any ſingle particular of moment. I believe, any man who reads this paper, will look upon me to be at leaſt a perſon of as much honeſty and underſtanding, as a common maker of almanacks. I do not lurk in the dark; I am not wholly unknown in the world; I have ſet my name at length, to be a mark of infamy to mankind, if they ſhall find I deceive them.

In one point I muſt deſire to be forgiven, that I talk more ſparingly of home-affairs: as it would be imprudence to diſcover ſecrets of ſtate, ſo it might be dangerous to my perſon; but in ſmaller matters, and ſuch as are not of publick conſequence, I ſhall be very free; and the truth of my conjectures will

as

as much appear from theſe as the other. As for the moſt ſignal events abroad in France, Flanders, Italy and Spain, I ſhall make no ſcruple to predict them in plain terms: ſome of them are of importance, and I hope I ſhall ſeldom miſtake the day they will happen; therefore, I think good to inform the reader, that I ſhall all along make uſe of the Old Style obſerved in England, which I deſire he will compare with that of the newſpapers, at the time they relate the actions I mention.

I muſt add one word more: I know it has been the opinion of ſeveral learned perſons, who think well enough of the true art of aſtrology, that the ſtars do only incline, and not force the actions or wills of men: and therefore, however I may proceed by right rules, yet I cannot, in prudence, ſo confidently aſſure the events will follow exactly as I predict them.

I hope I have maturely conſidered this objection, which in ſome caſes is of no little weight. For example: a man may, by the influence of an overruling planet, be diſpoſed or inclined to luſt, rage, or avarice, and yet by the force of reaſon overcome that evil influence; and this was the caſe of Socrates: but the great events of the world, uſually depending upon numbers of men, it cannot be expected they ſhould all unite to croſs their inclinations, for purſuing a general deſign, wherein they unanimouſly agree. Beſides, the influence of the ſtars reaches to many actions and events, which are not any way in the power of reaſon; as ſickneſs, death, and what we commonly call

accidents,

accidents, with many more needleſs to repeat.

But now it is time to proceed to my predictions, which I have begun to calculate from the time that the ſun enters into Aries. And this I take to be properly the beginning of the natural year. I purſue them to the time, that he enters Libra, or ſomewhat more, which is the buſy period of the year. The remainder I have not yet adjuſted, upon account of ſeveral impediments needleſs here to mention: beſides, I muſt remind the reader again, that this is but a ſpecimen of what I deſign in ſucceeding years to treat more at large, if I may have liberty and encouragement.

My firſt prediction is but a trifle, yet I will mention it, to ſhew how ignorant thoſe ſottiſh pretenders to aſtrology are in their own concerns: it relates to Partridge the almanack-maker; I have conſulted the ſtar of his nativity by my own rules, and find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of March next, about eleven at night, of a raging fever; therefore I adviſe him to conſider of it, and ſettle his affairs in time.

The month of April will be obſervable for the death of many great perſons. On the 4th will die the cardinal De Noailles, archbiſhop of Paris: on the 11th the young prince of Aſturias, ſon to the duke of Anjou: on the 14th a great peer of this realm will die at his country-houſe: on the 19th an old layman of great fame for learning: and on the 23d an eminent goldſmith in Lombard-ſtreet.

I could mention others, both at home and abroad, if I did not conſider ſuch events of very little uſe or inſtruction to the reader, or to the world.

As to publick affairs: on the 7th of this month there will be an inſurrection in Dauphine, occaſioned by the oppreſſions of the people, which will not be quieted in ſome months.

On the 15th will be a violent ſtorm on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of France, which will deſtroy many of their ſhips, and ſome in the very harbour.

The 19th will be famous for the revolt of a whole province or kingdom, excepting one city, by which the affairs of a certain prince in the alliance will take a better face.

May, againſt common conjectures, will be no very buſy month in Europe, but very ſignal for the death of the Dauphin, which will happen on the 7th, after a ſhort fit of ſickneſs, and grievous torments with the ſtranguary. He dies leſs lamented by the court than the kingdom.

On the 9th a mareſchal of France will break his leg by a fall from his horſe. I have not been able to diſcover whether he will then die or not.

On the 11th will begin a moſt important ſiege, which the eyes of all Europe will be upon: I cannot be more particular: for, in relating affairs that ſo nearly concern the confederates, and conſequently this kingdom, I am forced to confine myſelf, for ſeveral reaſons very obvious to the reader.

On the 15th news will arrive of a very ſurprizing event, than which nothing could be more unexpected.

On the 19th three noble ladies of this kingdom will, againſt all expectation, prove with child, to the great joy of their huſbands.

On the 23d a famous buffoon of the play-houſe will die a ridiculous death, ſuitable to his vocation.

June. This month will be diſtinguiſhed at home, by the utter diſperſing of thoſe ridiculous deluded enthuſiaſts, commonly called the prophets; occaſioned chiefly by ſeeing the time come, when many of their prophecies ſhould be fulfilled, and then finding themſelves deceived by contrary events. It is indeed to be admired, how any deceiver can be ſo weak to foretel things near at hand, when a very few months muſt of neceſſity diſcover the impoſture to all the world; in this point leſs prudent than common almanack-makers, who are ſo wiſe to wander in generals, and talk dubiouſly, and leave to the reader the buſineſs of interpreting.

On the 1ſt of this month a French general will be killed by a random ſhot of a cannon-ball.

On the 6th a fire will break out in the ſuburbs of Paris, which will deſtroy above a thouſand houſes; and ſeems to be the foreboding of what will happen, to the ſurprize of all Europe, about the end of the following month.

On the 10th a great battle will be fought, which will begin at four of the clock in the afternoon; and laſt till nine at night with great obſtinacy, but

no very deciſive event. I ſhall not name the place, for the reaſons aforeſaid; but the commanders on each left wing will be killed.—I ſee bonfires, and hear the noiſe of guns for a victory.

On the 14th there will be a falſe report of the French king's death.

On the 20th cardinal Portocarero will die of a dyſentery, with great ſuſpicion of poiſon; but the report of his intention to revolt to king Charles will prove falſe.

July. The 6th of this month a certain general will, by a glorious action, recover the reputation he loſt by former misfortunes.

On the 12th a great commander will die a priſoner in the hands of his enemies.

On the 14th a ſhameful diſcovery will be made of a French jeſuit, giving poiſon to a great foreign general; and when he is put to the torture, he will make wonderful diſcoveries.

In ſhort this will prove a month of great action, if I might have liberty to relate the particulars.

At home, the death of an old famous ſenator will happen on the 15th at his country-houſe, worn with age and diſeaſes.

But that which will make this month memorable to all poſterity, is the death of the French king, Lewis the Fourteenth, after a week's ſickneſs at Marli, which will happen on the 29th, about ſix o'clock in the evening. It ſeems to be an effect of the gout in the ſtomach, followed by a flux. And in three days after Monſieur Chamillard will follow his maſter, dying ſuddenly of an apoplexy.

In this month likewiſe an ambaſſador will die in London; but I cannot aſſign the day.

Auguſt. The affairs of France will ſeem to ſuffer no change for a while under the duke of Burgundy's adminiſtration; but the genius that animated the whole machine being gone, will be the cauſe of mighty turns and revolutions in the following year. The new king makes yet little change either in the army or the miniſtry; but the libels againſt his grandfather, that fly about his very court, give him uneaſineſs.

I ſee an expreſs in mighty haſte, with joy and wonder in his looks, arriving by break of day on the 26th of this month, having travelled in three days a prodigious journey by land and ſea. In the evening I hear bells and guns, and ſee the blazing of a thouſand bonfires.

A young admiral of noble birth does likewiſe this month gain immortal honour by a great atchievement.

The affairs of Poland are this month entirely ſettled: Auguſtus reſigns his pretenſions, which he had again taken up for ſome time: Staniſlaus is peaceably poſſeſſed of the throne; and the king of Sweden declares for the emperor.

I cannot omit one particular accident here at home; that near the end of this month much miſchief will be done at Bartholomew fair, by the fall of a booth.

September. This month begins with a very ſurprizing fit of froſty weather, which will laſt near twelve days.

The pope having long languiſhed laſt month, the ſwellings in his legs breaking, and the fleſh mortifying, will die on the 11th inſtant; and in three weeks time, after a mighty conteſt, be ſucceeded by a cardinal of the Imperial faction, but a native of Tuſcany, who is now about ſixty-one years old.

The French army acts now wholly on the defenſive, ſtrongly fortified in their trenches; and the young French king ſends overtures for a treaty of peace by the duke of Mantua; which, becauſe it is a matter of ſtate, that concerns us here at home, I ſhall ſpeak no farther of.

I ſhall add but one prediction more, and that in myſtical terms, which ſhall be included in a verſe out of Virgil,

Alter erit jam Tethys, et altera quæ vehat Argo
Delectos Heroas.

Upon the 25th day of this month, the fulfilling of this prediction will be manifeſt to every body.

This is the fartheſt I have proceeded in my calculations for the preſent year. I do not pretend, that theſe are all the great events, which will happen in this period, but that thoſe I have ſet down will infallibly come to paſs. It will perhaps ſtill be objected, why I have not ſpoke more particularly of affairs at home, or of the ſucceſs of our armies abroad, which I might, and could very largely have done; but thoſe in power have wiſely diſcouraged men from meddling in public concerns, and I was reſolved by no means to give the leaſt offence. This

I will

I will venture to ſay, that it will be a glorious campaign for the allies, wherein the Engliſh forces, both by ſea and land, will have their full ſhare of honour: that her majeſty queen Anne will continue in health and proſperity: and that no ill accident will arrive to any in the chief miniſtry.

As to the particular events I have mentioned, the reader may judge by the fulfilling of them, whether I am on the level with common aſtrologers; who, with an old paultry cant, and a few pothooks for planets, to amuſe the vulgar, have, in my opinion, too long been ſuffered to abuſe the world: but an honeſt phyſician ought not to be deſpiſed, becauſe there are ſuch things as mountebanks. I hope I have ſome ſhare of reputation, which I would not willingly forfeit for a frolick or humour: and I believe no gentleman, who reads this paper, will look upon it to be of the ſame caſt or mould with the common ſcribbles, that are every day hawked about. My fortune has placed me above the little regard of writing for a few pence, which I neither * value or want: therefore let not wiſe men too haſtily condemn this eſſay, intended for a good deſign, to cultivate and improve an ancient art, long in diſgrace by having fallen into mean unſkilful hands. A little time will determine whether I have deceived others or myſelf: and I think it is no very unreaſonable requeſt, that men would pleaſe to ſuſpend their judgments till

* Which I *neither* value, *or* want. Here the disjunctive negative, *neither*, is followed by the affirmative, *or*; which is improper. It ſhould be, 'which I neither value, *nor* want.'

then. I was once of the opinion with thoſe, who deſpiſe all predictions from the ſtars, till the year 1686, a man of quality ſhewed me, written in his *album* *, that the moſt learned aſtronomer, captain Halley, aſſured him, he would never believe any thing of the ſtars influence, if there were not a great revolution in England in the year 1688. Since that time I began to have other thoughts, and after eighteen years diligent ſtudy and application, I think I have no reaſon to repent of my pains. I ſhall detain the reader no longer, than to let him know, that the account I deſign to give of next year's events, ſhall take in the principal affairs that happen in Europe; and if I be denied the liberty of offering it to my own country, I ſhall appeal to the learned world, by publiſhing it in Latin, and giving order to have it printed in Holland.

* *Album*, is the name of a paper book, in which it was uſual for a man's friends to write down a ſentence with their names, to keep them in his remembrance; it is ſtill common in ſome of the foreign univerſities.

AN

ANSWER

TO

BICKERSTAFF.

Some reflexions upon Mr. BICKERSTAFF's Predictions for the Year MDCCVIII.

BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.

I HAVE not obſerved, for ſome years paſt, any inſignificant paper to have made more noiſe, or be more greedily bought, than that of theſe predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amuſement for the better ſort, and a jeſt only to the wiſe; yet, among theſe laſt, I have heard ſome very much in doubt, whether the author meant to deceive others, or is deceived himſelf. Whoever he was, he ſeems to have with great art adjuſted his paper both to pleaſe the rabble, and to entertain perſons of condition. The writer is, without queſtion, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece ſeems haſtily written in a ſudden frolick, with the ſcornful thought of the

the pleaſure he will have, in putting this great town into a wonderment about nothing: nor do I doubt but he, and his friends in the ſecret, laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many hundred thouſand fools they have already made. And he has them faſt for ſome time: for ſo they are likely to continue until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay, it is a great queſtion whether the miſcarriage of the two or three firſt, will ſo entirely undeceive people, as to hinder them from expecting the accompliſhment of the reſt. I doubt not but ſome thouſands of theſe papers are carefully preſerved by as many perſons, to confront with the events, and try whether the aſtrologer exactly keeps the day and hour. And theſe I take to be Mr. Bickerſtaff's choiceſt cullies, for whoſe ſake chiefly he writ his amuſement. Meanwhile he has ſeven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in ſuſpenſe; for it is ſo long before the almanack-maker is to die, which is the firſt prediction: and, if that fellow happens to be a ſplenetic viſionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the prophecy may punctually come to paſs, by very natural means. As a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill-uſed by a mercer in town, wrote him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a ſlow poiſon into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which, the man began in earneſt to languiſh and decay, by the mere ſtrength of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive

him,

him, before the jeſt went too far. The like effect upon Partridge would wonderfully raiſe Mr. Bickerſtaff's reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from France, whether the cardinal De Noailles were dead or alive upon the fourth of April, which is the ſecond of his predictions.

For a piece ſo careleſsly written, the obſervations upon aſtrology are reaſonable and pertinent, the remarks juſt; and as the paper is partly deſigned, in my opinion, for a ſatire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities, ſo it is no more than what we all of us deſerve. And, ſince we muſt be teazed with perpetual hawkers of ſtrange and wonderful things, I am glad to ſee a man of ſenſe, find leiſure and humour to take up the trade, for his own and our diverſion. To ſpeak in the town phraſe, it is a bite; he has fully had his jeſt, and may be ſatisfied.

I very much approve the ſerious air he gives himſelf in his introduction and concluſion, which has gone far to give ſome people, of no mean rank, an opinion that the author believes himſelf. He tells us, "He places the whole credit of his art "on the truth of theſe predictions, and will be "content to be hooted by Partridge and the reſt "for a cheat, if he fails in any one particular;" with ſeveral other ſtrains of the ſame kind, wherein I perfectly believe him; and that he is very indifferent whether Iſaac Bickerſtaff be a mark of infamy or not. But it ſeems, although he has joined an odd ſurname, to no very common Chriſtian one, that in this large town there is a man found

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to own both the names, although, I believe, not the paper.

I believe it is no ſmall mortification to this gentleman aſtrologer, as well as his bookſeller, to find their piece, which they ſent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately ſeized on by three or four interloping printers of Grub-ſtreet, the title ſtuffed with an abſtract of the whole matter, together with the ſtandard epithets of ſtrange and wonderful, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferior claſs, with the concluding cadence of A halfpenny apiece. But *ſic cecidit Phaeton:* and, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the ſame fate: to-morrow will my ears be grated by the little boys and wenches in ſtraw-hats; and I muſt a hundred times undergo the mortification to have my own work offered me to ſale at an under-value. Then, which is a great deal worſe, my acquaintance in the coffee-houſe will aſk me, whether I have ſeen the *Anſwer to 'ſquire Bickerſtaff's predictions*, and whether I know the puppy that writ it: and how to keep a man's countenance in ſuch a juncture, is no eaſy point of conduct. When, in this caſe, you ſee a man ſhy either in praiſing or condemning, ready to turn off the diſcourſe to another ſubject, ſtanding as little in the light as he can to hide his bluſhing, pretending to ſneeze, or take ſnuff, or go off as if ſudden buſineſs called him; then ply him cloſe, obſerve his look narrowly, ſee whether his ſpeech be conſtrained or affected, then charge him ſuddenly, or

whiſper

whiſper and ſmile, and you will ſoon diſcover whether he be guilty. Although this ſeem not to the purpoſe I am diſcourſing on, yet I think it to be ſo; for I am much deceived if I do not know the true author of Bickerſtaff's Predictions, and did not meet with him ſome days ago in a coffee-houſe at Covent-Garden.

As to the matter of the Predictions themſelves, I ſhall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr. Partridge to take them into his conſideration, and lay as many errors in aſtrology as poſſible to Mr. Bickerſtaff's account. He may juſtly, I think, challenge the 'ſquire to publiſh the calculation he has made of Partridge's nativity, by the credit of which, he ſo determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr. Bickerſtaff can do no leſs, in honour, than give Mr. Partridge the ſame advantage of calculating his, by ſending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars neceſſary for ſuch a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the diſpute, and take part on each ſide according as they are inclined.

I ſhould likewiſe adviſe Mr. Partridge to inquire, why Mr. Bickerſtaff does not ſo much as offer at one prediction to be fulfilled, until two months after the time of publiſhing his paper. This looks a little ſuſpicious, as if he were deſirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could; elſe it were hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of March; which

which is not ſo fair dealings as we have even from Mr. Partridge and his brethren, who give us their predictions (ſuch as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

There is one paſſage in Mr. Bickerſtaff's paper, that ſeems to be as high a ſtrain of aſſurance, as I have any where met with. It is that prediction for the month of June, which relates to the French prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They "will utterly diſperſe, by ſeeing the time come, "wherein their prophecies ſhould be fulfilled, and "then finding themſelves deceived by contrary "events." Upon which, he adds, with great reaſon, "his wonder how any deceiver can be ſo "weak, to foretel things near at hand, when a "very few months muſt diſcover the impoſture "to all the world." This is ſpoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedneſs, as if he would have us think himſelf to be not under the leaſt apprehenſion, that the ſame in two months will be his own caſe. With reſpect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of ſo refined and pleaſant a piece of impudence; which I hope the author will not reſent as an uncivil word, becauſe I am ſure I enter into his taſte, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deſerves a reprimand, for writing with ſo much ſcorn and contempt for the underſtandings of the majority.

For the month of July, he tells us "of a ge-"neral, who, by a glorious action, will recover the "reputation he loſt by former misfortunes." This is commonly underſtood to be lord Galloway; who

who if he be already dead, as ſome news-papers have it, Mr. Bickerſtaff has made a trip. But this I do not much inſiſt on; for it is hard if another general cannot be found under the ſame circumſtances, to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The French king's death is very punctually related; but it was unfortunate to make him die at Marli, where he never goes at that ſeaſon of the year, as I obſerved myſelf during three years I paſſed in that kingdom: and, diſcourſing ſome months ago with monſieur Tallard, about the French court, I find that king never goes to Marli for any time, but about the ſeaſon of hunting there, which is not till Auguſt. So that there was an unlucky ſlip of Mr. Bickerſtaff, for want of foreign education.

He concludes with reſuming his promiſe, of publiſhing entire predictions for the next year; of which the other aſtrologers need not be in very much pain. I ſuppoſe we ſhall have them much about the ſame time with *The General Hiſtory of Ears*. I believe we have done with him for ever in this kind; and though I am no aſtrologer, may venture to propheſy that Iſaac Bickerſtaff, eſq; is now dead, and died juſt at the time his predictions were ready for the preſs: that he dropped out of the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will, one day or other, perhaps, deſcend a ſecond time, when he has ſome new, agreeable, or amuſing whimſy to paſs upon the town; wherein,

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it is very probable, he will ſucceed as often as he is diſpoſed to try the experiment; that is, as long as he can preſerve a thorough contempt for his own time, and other peoples underſtandings, and is reſolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expence of a million of people.

THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE FIRST OF Mr. BICKERSTAFF'S Predictions;

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF Mr. PARTRIDGE, the ALMANACK-MAKER, Upon the 29th Inſtant.

In a LETTER to a PERSON of HONOUR.

Written in the Year 1708.

MY LORD,

IN obedience to your lordſhip's commands, as well as to ſatisfy my own curioſity, I have for ſome days paſt enquired conſtantly after Partridge the almanack-maker, of whom it was foretold in Mr. Bickerſtaff's predictions, publiſhed about a month ago, that he ſhould die the 29th inſtant about eleven at night of a raging fever. I had ſome ſort of knowledge of him, when I was employed in the revenue, becauſe he uſed every year to preſent me with his almanack, as he did other gentlemen, upon the ſcore of ſome little gratuity

we gave him. I ſaw him accidentally once or twice about ten days before he died, and obſerved he began very much to droop and languiſh, though I hear, his friends did not ſeem to apprehend him in any danger. About two or three days ago he grew ill, was confined firſt to his chamber, and in a few hours after to his bed, where * Dr. Caſe and Mrs. Kirleus were ſent for to viſit, and to preſcribe to him. Upon this intelligence, I ſent thrice every day one ſervant or other to enquire after his health; and yeſterday, about four in the afternoon, word was brought me, that he was paſt hopes: upon which I prevailed with myſelf to go and ſee him, partly out of commiſeration, and I confeſs, partly out of curioſity. He knew me very well, ſeemed ſurprized at my condeſcenſion, and made me compliments upon it, as well as he could in the condition he was. The people about him ſaid, he had been for ſome time delirious; but when I ſaw him, he had his underſtanding as well as ever I knew, and ſpoke ſtrong and hearty, without any ſeeming uneaſineſs or conſtraint. After I had told him how ſorry I was to ſee him in thoſe melancholy circumſtances, and ſaid ſome other civilities, ſuitable to the occaſion, I deſired him to tell me freely and ingenuouſly, whether the predictions Mr. Bickerſtaff had publiſhed relating to his death, had not too much affected and worked on his imagination. He confeſſed, he had often had it in his head, but never with much apprehenſion, till about

* Two famous quacks at that time.

a fort-

a fortnight before; ſince which time it had the perpetual poſſeſſion of his mind and thoughts, and he did verily believe was the true natural cauſe of his preſent diſtemper: for, ſaid he, I am thoroughly perſuaded, and I think I have very good reaſons, that Mr. Bickerſtaff ſpoke altogether by gueſs, and knew no more what will happen this year, than I did myſelf. I told him his diſcourſe ſurprized me; and I * would be glad he were in a ſtate of health to be able to tell me, what reaſon he had to be convinced of Mr. Bickerſtaff's ignorance. He replied, I am a poor ignorant fellow, bred to a mean trade, yet I have ſenſe enough to know, that all pretences of foretelling by aſtrology are deceits, for this manifeſt reaſon; becauſe the wiſe and the learned, who can only judge whether there be any truth in this ſcience, do all unanimouſly agree to laugh at and deſpiſe it; and none but the poor ignorant vulgar give it any credit, and that only upon the word of ſuch ſilly wretches as I and my fellows, who can hardly write or read. I then aſked him, why he had not calculated his own nativity, to ſee whether it agreed with Bickerſtaff's prediction? at which he ſhook his head, and ſaid, oh! ſir, this is no time for jeſting, but for repenting thoſe fooleries, as I do now from the very bottom of my heart. By what I can gather from you, ſaid I, the obſervations and predictions you printed with your almanacks, were mere impoſitions on

* *Would*, is here improperly uſed; it ought to be, 'and I *ſhould* be glad, &c.'

the people. He replied, if it were otherwiſe, I ſhould have the leſs to anſwer for. We have a common form for all thoſe things; as to foretelling the weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the printer, who takes it out of any old almanack, as he thinks fit; the reſt was my own invention to make my almanack ſell, having a wife to maintain, and no other way to get my bread; for mending old ſhoes is a poor livelihood; and (added he, ſighing) I wiſh I may not have done more miſchief by my phyſick, than my aſtrology; though I had ſome good receipts from my grandmother, and my own compoſitions were ſuch, as I thought could at leaſt do no hurt.

I had ſome other diſcourſe with him, which now I cannot call to mind; and I fear I have already tired your lordſhip. I ſhall only add one circumſtance, that on his death-bed he declared himſelf a nonconformiſt, and had a fanatick preacher to be his ſpiritual guide. After half an hour's converſation I took my leave, being almoſt ſtifled by the cloſeneſs of the room. I imagined he could not hold out long, and therefore withdrew to a little coffee-houſe hard by, leaving a ſervant at the houſe, with orders to come immediately and tell me, as near as he could, the minute when Partridge ſhould expire, which was not above two hours after; when, looking upon my watch, I found it to be above five minutes after ſeven; by which it is clear that Mr. Bickerſtaff was miſtaken almoſt four hours in his calculation. In the other circumſtances he

was exact enough. * But whether he has not been the cauſe of this poor man's death, as well as the predictor, may be very reaſonably diſputed. However, it muſt be confeſſed, the matter is odd enough, whether we ſhould endeavour to account for it by chance, or the effect of imagination: for my own part, though I believe no man has leſs faith in theſe matters, yet I ſhall wait with ſome impatience, and not without ſome expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. Bickerſtaff's ſecond prediction, that the cardinal de Noailles is to die upon the fourth of April; and if that ſhould be verified as exactly as this of poor Partridge, I muſt own I ſhould be wholly ſurprized, and at a loſs, and ſhould infallibly expect the accompliſhment of all the reſt.

* The words in this ſentence are ill arranged; it would be better thus—'But whether he has not been the cauſe, as well as the predictor, of this poor man's death, may very reaſonably be diſputed.'

[This piece being on the ſame ſubject, and very rare, we have thought fit to add it, though not written by the ſame hand.]

N. B. In the Dublin edition it is ſaid to be written by the late N. Rowe, Eſq; which is a miſtake: for the reverend Dr. Yalden, preacher of Bridewell, Mr. Partridge's near neighbour, drew it up for him.

'Squire BICKERSTAFF Detected;

OR, THE

Aſtrological IMPOSTOR Convicted:

BY

JOHN PARTRIDGE,

Student in Phyſick and Aſtrology.

IT is hard, my dear countrymen of theſe united nations, it is very hard, that a Briton born, a proteſtant aſtrologer, a man of revolution principles, an aſſertor of the liberty and property of the people, ſhould cry out in vain for juſtice againſt a Frenchman, a papiſt, and an illiterate pretender to ſcience, that would blaſt my reputation, moſt inhumanly bury me alive, and defraud my native country of thoſe ſervices, which in my double capacity, I daily offer the publick.

What great provocations I have received, let the impartial reader judge, and how unwillingly, even

in

in my own defence, I now enter the liſts againſt falſehood, ignorance and envy: but I am exaſperated, at length, to drag out this Cacus from the den of obſcurity where he lurks, detect him by the light of thoſe ſtars he has ſo impudently traduced, and ſhew there is not a monſter in the ſkies ſo pernicious and malevolent to mankind, as an ignorant pretender to phyſick and aſtrology. I ſhall not directly fall on the many groſs errors, nor expoſe the notorious abſurdities of this proſtituted libeller, till I have let the learned world fairly into the controverſy depending, and then leave the unprejudiced to judge of the merits and juſtice of my cauſe.

It was towards the concluſion of the year 1707, when an impudent pamphlet crept into the world, intituled, *Predictions, &c. by Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq;* among the many arrogant aſſertions laid down by that lying ſpirit of divination, he was pleaſed to pitch on the cardinal de Noailles and myſelf, among many other eminent and illuſtrious perſons, that were to die within the compaſs of the enſuing year; and peremptorily fixes the month, day, and hour of our deaths: this, I think, is ſporting with great men, and publick ſpirits, to the ſcandal of religion, and reproach of power; and if ſovereign princes and aſtrologers muſt make diverſion for the vulgar — why then farewel, ſay I, to all governments, eccleſiaſtical and civil. But, I thank my better ſtars, I am alive to confront this falſe and audacious predictor, and to make him rue the hour he ever affronted a man of ſcience and reſentment. The cardinal may take what meaſures he pleaſes

with him; as his excellency is a foreigner, and a papiſt, he has no reaſon to rely on me for his juſtification; I ſhall only aſſure the world he is alive: —— but as he was bred to letters, and is maſter of a pen, let him uſe it in his own defence. In the mean time, I ſhall preſent the publick with a faithful narrative of the ungenerous treatment and hard uſage I have received, from the virulent papers, and malicious practices, of this pretended aſtrologer.

A true and impartial account of the proceedings of ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, *Eſq; againſt me.*

The 28th of March, *anno Dom.* 1708, being the night this ſham-prophet had ſo impudently fixed for my laſt, which made little impreſſion on myſelf; but I cannot anſwer for my whole family; for my wife, with a concern more than uſual, prevailed on me to take ſomewhat to ſweat for a cold; and, between the hours of eight and nine, to go to bed: the maid, as ſhe was warming my bed, with a curioſity natural to young wenches, runs to the window, and aſks of one paſſing the ſtreet, who the bell tolled for? Dr. Partridge, ſays he, the famous almanack-maker, who died ſuddenly this evening: the poor girl provoked told him, he lied like a raſcal; the other very ſedately replied, the ſexton had ſo informed him, and if falſe, he was to blame for impoſing upon a ſtranger. She aſked a ſecond, and a third, as they paſſed, and every one was in the ſame tone. Now, I do not ſay theſe are accomplices

complices to a certain aſtrological 'ſquire, and that one Bickerſtaff might be ſauntering thereabouts, becauſe I will aſſert nothing here, but what I dare atteſt, for plain matter of fact. My wife at this fell into a violent diſorder; and I muſt own I was a little diſcompoſed at the oddneſs of the accident. In the mean time one knocks at my door; Betty runs down, and opening, finds a ſober grave perſon, who modeſtly inquires, if this was Dr. Partridge's? ſhe taking him for ſome cautious city-patient, that came at that time for privacy, ſhews him into the dining-room. As ſoon as I could compoſe myſelf, I went to him, and was ſurprized to find my gentleman mounted on a table with a two-foot rule in his hand, meaſuring my walls, and taking the dimenſions of the room. Pray, Sir, ſays I, not to interrupt you, have you any buſineſs with me? only, Sir, replies he, order the girl to bring me a better light, for this is but a very dim one. Sir, ſays I, my name is Partridge: oh! the doctor's brother, belike, cries he; the ſtaircaſe, I believe, and theſe two apartments hung in cloſe mourning, will be ſufficient, and only a ſtrip of bays round the other rooms. The doctor muſt needs die rich, he had great dealings in his way for many years; if he had no family-coat, you had as good uſe the eſcutcheons of the company, they are as ſhowiſh, and will look as magnificent, as if he was deſcended from the blood-royal. With that I aſſumed a greater air of authority, and demanded who employed him, or how he came there? Why, I was ſent, ſir, by the company of under-

undertakers, ſays he, and they were employed by the honeſt gentleman, who is executor to the good doctor departed; and our raſcally porter, I believe, is fallen faſt aſleep with the black cloth and ſconces, or he had been here, and we might have been tacking up by this time. Sir, ſays I, pray be adviſed by a friend, and make the beſt of your ſpeed out of my doors, for I hear my wife's voice, (which by the by, is pretty diſtinguiſhable) and in that corner of the room ſtands a good cudgel, which ſomebody has felt before now; if that light in her hands, and ſhe know the buſineſs you come about, without conſulting the ſtars, I can aſſure you it will be employed very much to the detriment of your perſon. Sir, cries he, bowing with great civility, I perceive extreme grief for the loſs of the doctor diſorders you a little at preſent, but early in the morning I will wait on you with all neceſſary materials. Now I mention no Mr. Bickerſtaff; nor do I ſay, that a certain ſtar-gazing 'ſquire has been playing my executor before his time; but I leave the world to judge, and he that puts things and things fairly together, will not be much wide of the mark.

Well, once more I got my doors cloſed, and prepared for bed, in hopes of a little repoſe after ſo many ruffling adventures; juſt as I was putting out my light in order to it, another bounces as hard as he can knock; I opened the window, and aſk who is there, and what he wants? I am Ned the ſexton, replies he, and come to know whether the doctor left any orders for a funeral ſermon, and where he

is

is to be laid, and whether his grave is to be plain or bricked? Why, ſirrah, ſays I, you know me well enough; you know I am not dead, and how dare you affront me after this manner? Alack-a-day, ſir, replies the fellow, why it is in print, and the whole town knows you are dead; why, there is Mr. White the joiner is but fitting ſcrews to your coffin, he will be here with it in an inſtant: he was afraid you would have wanted it before this time. Sirrah, ſirrah, ſays I, you ſhall know to-morrow to your coſt, that I am alive, and alive like to be. Why, it is ſtrange, ſir, ſays he, you ſhould make ſuch a ſecret of your death to us that are your neighbours; it looks as if you had a deſign to defraud the church of its dues; and let me tell you, for one that has lived ſo long by the heavens, that is unhandſomely done. Hiſt, hiſt, ſays another rogue that ſtood by him; away, doctor, into your flannel gear as faſt as you can, for here is a whole pack of diſmals coming to you with their black equipage, and how indecent will it look for you to ſtand frightening folks at your window, when you ſhould have been in your coffin this three hours? in ſhort, what with undertakers, imbalmers, joiners, ſextons, and your damned elegy hawkers upon a late practitioner in phyſick and aſtrology, I got not one wink of ſleep that night, nor ſcarce a moment's reſt ever ſince. Now I doubt not, but this villainous 'ſquire has the impudence to aſſert, that theſe are entirely ſtrangers to him; he, good man, knows nothing of the matter, and honeſt Iſaac Bickerſtaff, I warrant you, is

more a man of honour, than to be an accomplice with a pack of raſcals, that walk the ſtreets on nights, and diſturb good people in their beds; but he is out, if he thinks the whole world is blind; for there is one John Partridge can ſmell a knave as far as Grub-ſtreet,—although he lies in the moſt exalted garret, and writes himſelf 'ſquire:—but I will keep my temper, and proceed in the narration.

I could not ſtir out of doors for the ſpace of three months after this, but preſently one comes up to me in the ſtreet; Mr. Partridge, that coffin you was laſt buried in, I have not been yet paid for: doctor, cries another dog, how do you think people can live by making of graves for nothing? next time you die, you may even toll out the bell yourſelf for Ned. A third rogue tips me by the elbow, and wonders, how I have the conſcience to ſneak abroad without paying my funeral expences. Lord, ſays one, I durſt have ſwore that was honeſt Dr. Partridge, my old friend; but poor man, he is gone. I beg your pardon, ſays another, you look ſo like my old acquaintance, that I uſed to conſult on ſome private occaſions: but, alack, he is gone the way of all fleſh——Look, look, look, cries a third, after a competent ſpace of ſtaring at me, would not one think our neighbour the almanack-maker was crept out of his grave, to take the other peep at the ſtars in this world, and ſhew how much he is improved in fortune-telling, by having taken a journey to the other?

Nay,

Nay, the very reader of our pariſh, a good ſober, diſcreet perſon, has ſent two or three times for me to come and be buried decently, or ſend him ſufficient reaſons to the contrary; or, if I have been interred in any other pariſh, to produce my certificate, as the act * requires. My poor wife is almoſt run diſtracted with being called widow Partridge, when ſhe knows it is falſe; and once a term ſhe is cited into the court to take out letters of adminiſtration. But the greateſt grievance is, a paultry quack, that takes up my calling juſt under my noſe, and in his printed directions with N. B. + ſays, he lives in the houſe of the late ingenious Mr. John Partridge, an eminent practitioner in leather, phyſick, and aſtrology.

But to ſhew how far the wicked ſpirit of envy, malice and reſentment can hurry ſome men, my nameleſs old perſecutor had provided me a monument at the ſtone-cutter's, and would have erected it in the pariſh-church; and this piece of notorious and expenſive villainy had actually ſucceeded, if I had not uſed my utmoſt intereſt with the veſtry, where it was carried at laſt but by two voices, that I am alive. That ſtratagem failing, out comes a long ſable elegy, bedecked with hour-glaſſes, mattocks, ſculls, ſpades, and ſkeletons, with an epitaph as confidently written to abuſe me, and my

* The ſtatute of 30 Car. II. for burying in woolen requires, that oath ſhall be made of the compliance with this act, and a certificate thereof lodged with the miniſter of the pariſh within eight days after interment.

profeſſion,

profeſſion, as if I had been under ground theſe twenty years.

And, after ſuch barbarous treatment as this, can the world blame me, when I aſk, what is become of the freedom of an Engliſhman? and where is the liberty and property, that my old glorious friend came over to aſſert? we have drove popery out of the nation, and ſent ſlavery to foreign climes. The arts only remain in bondage, when a man of ſcience and character ſhall be openly inſulted, in the midſt of the many uſeful ſervices he is daily paying the publick. Was it ever heard, even in Turkey or Algiers, that a ſtate aſtrologer was bantered out of his life by an ignorant impoſtor, or bawled out of the world by a pack of villainous, deep-mouthed hawkers? though I print almanacks, and publiſh advertiſements; though I produce certificates under the miniſters and church-wardens hands I am alive, and atteſt the ſame on oath at quarter-ſeſſions, out comes a full and true relation of the death and interment of John Partridge; truth is bore down, atteſtations neglected, the teſtimony of ſober perſons deſpiſed, and a man is looked upon by his neighbours as if he had been ſeven years dead, and is buried alive in the midſt of his friends and acquaintance.

Now can any man of common ſenſe think it conſiſtent with the honour of my profeſſion, and not much beneath the dignity of a philoſopher, to ſtand bawling before his own door?—alive! alive! ho! the famous Dr. Partridge! no counterfeit, but all alive!——as if I had the twelve celeſtial monſters

of

of the zodiack to ſhew within, or was forced for a livelihood to turn retailer to May and Bartholomew fairs. Therefore, if her majeſty would but graciouſly be pleaſed to think a hardſhip of this nature worthy her royal conſideration, and the next parliament, in their great wiſdom, caſt but an eye towards the deplorable caſe of their old philomath, that annually beſtows his poetical good wiſhes on them, I am ſure there is one Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq; would ſoon be truſſed up for his bloody predictions, and putting good ſubjects in terror of their lives: and that henceforward to murder a man by way of prophecy, and bury him in a printed letter, either to a lord or commoner, ſhall as legally entitle him to the preſent poſſeſſion of Tyburn, as if he robbed on the highway, or cut your throat in bed.

I ſhall demonſtrate to the judicious, that France and Rome are at the bottom of this horrid conſpiracy againſt me; and that Culprit aforeſaid is a popiſh emiſſary, has paid his viſits to St. Germains, and is now in the meaſures of Lewis XIV. That in attempting my reputation, there is a general maſſacre of learning deſigned in theſe realms; and through my ſides there is a wound given to all the proteſtant almanack-makers in the univerſe.

VIVAT REGINA.

A VINDICATION OF ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.

AGAINST

hat is objected to him by Mr. PARTRIDGE in his ALMANACK for the preſent Year 1709.

By the ſaid ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Eſq.

Written in the Year 1709.

MR. PARTRIDGE has been lately pleaſed to treat me after a very rough manner, in that which is called, his Almanack for the preſent year: ſuch uſage is very undecent from one gentleman to another, and does not at all contribute to the diſcovery of truth, which ought to be the great end in all diſputes of the learned. To call a man a fool and villain, and impudent fellow, only for differing from him in a point merely ſpeculative, is, in my humble opinion, a very improper ſtyle for a perſon of his education. I appeal to the learned world, whether, in my laſt year's predictions, I gave him the leaſt provoca-

tion for ſuch unworthy treatment. Philoſophers have differed in all ages; but the diſcreeteſt among them, have always differed, as became philoſophers. Scurrility and paſſion, in a controverſy among ſcholars, is juſt ſo much of nothing to the purpoſe, and at beſt, a tacit confeſſion of a weak cauſe: my concern is not ſo much for my own reputation, as that of the republick of letters, which Mr. Partridge has endeavoured to wound through my ſides. If men of publick ſpirit muſt be ſuperciliouſly treated for their ingenious attempts, how will true uſeful knowledge be ever advanced? I wiſh Mr. Partridge knew the thoughts, which foreign univerſities have conceived of his ungenerous proceedings with me; but I am too tender of his reputation to publiſh them to the world. That ſpirit of envy and pride, which blaſts ſo many riſing geniuſes in our nation, is yet unknown among profeſſors abroad: the neceſſity of juſtifying myſelf, will excuſe my vanity, when I tell the reader, that I have near a hundred honorary letters from ſeveral parts of Europe (ſome as far as Muſcovy) in praiſe of my performance. Beſide ſeveral others, which, as I have been credibly informed, were opened in the poſt-office, and never ſent me. It is true, the Inquiſition in Portugal was * pleaſed to burn my predictions, and condemn the author and readers of them; but I hope at the ſame time, it will be conſidered, in how deplorable a ſtate learning lies at preſent in

* This is fact, as the author was aſſured by Sir Paul Methuen, then ambaſſador to that crown.

that kingdom: and with the profoundeſt veneration for crowned heads, I will preſume to add, that it a little concerned his majeſty of Portugal to interpoſe his authority in behalf of a ſcholar and a gentleman, the ſubject of a nation, with which he is now in ſo ſtrict an alliance. But the other kingdoms and ſtates of Europe, have treated me with more candour and generoſity. If I had leave to print the Latin letters tranſmitted to me from foreign parts, they would fill a volume, and be a full defence againſt all that Mr. Partridge, or his accomplices of the Portugal Inquiſition, will be ever able to object; who, by the way, are the only enemies my predictions have ever met with at home or abroad. But I hope I know better what is due to the honour of a learned correſpondence, in ſo tender a point. Yet ſome of thoſe illuſtrious perſons will perhaps excuſe me, for tranſcribing a paſſage or two in my vindication *. The moſt learned Monſieur Leibnits thus addreſſes to me his third letter: *illuſtriſſimo Bickerſtaffio aſtrologiæ inſtauratori*, &c. Monſieur Le Clerc, quoting my predictions in a treatiſe he publiſhed laſt year, is pleaſed to ſay, *ita nuperrimè Bickerſtaffius magnum illud Angliæ ſidus.* Another great profeſſor writing of me, has theſe words: *Bickerſtaffius, nobilis Anglus, aſtrologorum hujuſce ſæculi facile princeps.* Signior Magliabecchi, the Great Duke's famous library-keeper, ſpends almoſt his whole letter in compliments and praiſes. It is true, the renowned

* The quotations here inſerted are in imitation of Dr. Bentley, in ſome part of the famous controverſy between him and Mr. Boyle.

profeſſor

profeſſor of aſtronomy at Utrecht ſeems to differ from me in one article; but it is after the modeſt manner that becomes a philoſopher; as, *pace tanti viri dixerim:* and page 55, he ſeems to lay the error upon the printer, (as indeed it ought) and ſays, *vel forſan error typographi, cum alioquin Bickerſtaffius vir doctiſſimus*, &c.

If Mr. Partridge had followed theſe examples in the controverſy between us, he might have ſpared me the trouble of juſtifying myſelf in ſo publick a manner. I believe no man is readier to own his errors than I, or more thankful to thoſe, who will pleaſe to inform him of them. But it ſeems, this gentleman, inſtead of encouraging the progreſs of his own art, is pleaſed to look upon all attempts of that kind, as an invaſion of his province. He has been indeed ſo wiſe as to make no objection againſt the truth of my predictions, except in one ſingle point relating to himſelf: and to demonſtrate how much men are blinded by their own partiality, I do ſolemnly aſſure the reader, that he is the only perſon, from whom I ever heard that objection offered; which conſideration alone, I think, will take off all its weight.

With my utmoſt endeavours I have not been able to trace above two objections ever made againſt the truth of my laſt year's prophecies: the firſt was, of a Frenchman, who was pleaſed to publiſh to the world, that "the cardinal De Noailles was ſtill "alive, notwithſtanding the pretended prophecy of "Monſieur Biquerſtaffe:" but how far a Frenchman, a papiſt, and an enemy, is to be believed in

his own cauſe, againſt an Engliſh proteſtant, who is true to the government, I ſhall leave to the candid and impartial reader.

The other objection, is the unhappy occaſion of this diſcourſe, and relates to an article in my predictions, which foretold the death of Mr. Partridge to happen on March 29, 1708. This he is pleaſed to contradict abſolutely in the almanack he has publiſhed for the preſent year, and in that ungentlemanly manner (pardon the expreſſion) as I have above related. In that work he very roundly aſſerts, that he " is not only now alive, but was " likewiſe alive upon that very 29th of March, " when I had foretold he ſhould die." This is the ſubject of the preſent controverſy between us; which I deſign to handle with all brevity, perſpicuity, and calmneſs. In this diſpute, I am ſenſible the eyes not only of England, but of all Europe, will be upon us; and the learned in every country, will, I doubt not, take part on that ſide, where they find moſt appearance of reaſon and truth.

Without entering into criticiſms of chronology about the hour of his death, I ſhall only prove that Mr. Partridge is not alive. And my firſt argument is this: above a thouſand gentlemen having bought his almanacks for this year, merely to find what he ſaid againſt me, at every line they read, they would lift up their eyes, and cry out, betwixt rage and laughter, " they were ſure no man alive " ever writ ſuch damned ſtuff as this." Neither did I ever hear that opinion diſputed: ſo that Mr.

Partridge

Partridge lies under a dilemma, either of diſowning his almanack, or allowing himſelf to be no man alive. But now, if an uninformed carcaſe walks ſtill about, and is pleaſed to call itſelf Partridge, Mr. Bickerſtaff does not think himſelf any way anſwerable for that. Neither had the ſaid carcaſe any right to beat the poor boy, who happened to paſs by it in the ſtreet, crying, "a full "and true account of Dr. Partridge's death," &c.

Secondly, Mr. Partridge pretends to tell fortunes, and recover ſtolen goods; which all the pariſh ſays, he muſt do by converſing with the devil, and other evil ſpirits: and no wiſe man will ever allow, he could converſe perſonally with either, till after he was dead.

Thirdly, I will plainly prove him to be dead, out of his own almanack for this year, and from the very paſſage, which he produces to make us think him alive. He there ſays, "he is not only "now alive, but was alſo alive upon that very 29th "of March, which I foretold he ſhould die on:" by this, he declares his opinion, that a man may be alive now, who was not alive a twelvemonth ago. And indeed, there lies the ſophiſtry of his argument. He dares not aſſert he was alive ever ſince that 29th of March, but that he "is now "alive, and was ſo on that day:" I grant the latter; for he did not die till night, as appears by the printed account of his death, in a Letter to a Lord; and whether he be ſince revived, I leave the world to judge. This indeed is perfect cavilling, and I am aſhamed to dwell any longer upon it.

Fourthly, I will appeal to Mr. Partridge himſelf, whether it be probable I could have been ſo indiſcreet, to begin my predictions with the only falſehood, that ever was pretended to be in them; and this in an affair at home, where I had ſo many opportunities to be exact; and muſt have given ſuch advantages againſt me to a perſon of Mr. Partridge's wit and learning, who, if he could poſſibly have raiſed one ſingle objection more againſt the truth of my prophecies, would hardly have ſpared me.

And here I muſt take occaſion to reprove the above-mentioned writer of the relation of Mr. Partridge's death, in a Letter to a Lord; who was pleaſed to tax me with a miſtake of four whole hours in my calculation of that event. I muſt confeſs, this cenſure pronounced with an air of certainty, in a matter that ſo nearly concerned me, and by a grave judicious author, moved me not a little. But though I was at that time out of town, yet ſeveral of my friends, whoſe curioſity had led them to be exactly informed, (for as to my own part, having no doubt at all in the matter, I never once thought of it) aſſured me, I computed to ſomething under half an hour; which (I ſpeak my private opinion) is an error of no very great magnitude, that men ſhould raiſe a clamour about it. I ſhall only ſay, it would not be amiſs, if that author would henceforth be more tender of other men's reputation, as well as his own. It is well there were no more miſtakes of that kind; if there had, I preſume he would have told me of them with as little ceremony.

There

There is one objection againſt Mr. Partridge's death, which I have ſometimes met with, though indeed very ſlightly offered, that he ſtill continues to write almanacks. But this is no more than what is common to all of that profeſſion: Gadbury, Poor Robin, Dove, Wing, and ſeveral others, do yearly publiſh their almanacks, though ſeveral of them have been dead ſince before the Revolution. Now the natural reaſon of this I take to be, that whereas it is the privilege of authors to live after their death, almanack-makers are alone excluded; becauſe their diſſertations, treating only upon the minutes as they paſs, become uſeleſs as thoſe go off. In conſideration of which, time, whoſe regiſters they are, gives them a leaſe in reverſion, to continue their works after their death.

I ſhould not have given the publick, or myſelf, the trouble of this vindication, if my name had not been made uſe of by ſeveral perſons, to whom I never lent it; one of which, a few days ago, was pleaſed to father on me a new ſet of predictions. But I think theſe are things too ſerious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the heart, when I ſaw my labours, which had coſt me ſo much thought and watching, bawled about by common hawkers, which I only intended for the weighty conſideration of the graveſt perſons. This prejudiced the world ſo much at firſt, that ſeveral of my friends had the aſſurance to aſk me, whether I were in jeſt? to which I only anſwered coldly, "that the event would ſhew." But it is the talent of our age and nation, to turn things of the greateſt importance into ridicule. When

the end of the year had verified all my predictions, out comes Mr. Partridge's almanack, diſputing the point of his death; ſo that I am employed, like the general who was forced to kill his enemies twice over, whom a necromancer had raiſed to life. If Mr. Partridge has practiſed the ſame experiment upon himſelf, and be again alive, long may he continue ſo; that does not in the leaſt contradict my veracity: but I think I have clearly proved, by invincible demonſtration, that he died, at fartheſt, within half an hour of the time I foretold, and not four hours ſooner, as the above-mentioned author, in his Letter to a Lord, has maliciouſly ſuggeſted, with deſign to blaſt my credit, by charging me with ſo groſs a miſtake.

A

FAMOUS PREDICTION

OF

MERLIN,

THE BRITISH WIZARD.

Written above a Thouſand Years ago, and relating to the Year 1709.

With EXPLANATORY NOTES, by T. N. PHILOMATH.

LAST year was publiſhed a paper of predictions, pretended to be written by one Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq; but the true deſign of it was to ridicule the art of aſtrology, and expoſe its profeſſors as ignorant, or impoſtors. Againſt this imputation, Dr. Partridge has learnedly vindicated himſelf in his almanack for that year.

For a farther vindication of this famous art, I have thought fit to preſent the world with the following prophecy. The original is ſaid to be of the famous Merlin, who lived about a thouſand years ago; and the following tranſlation is two hundred years old, for it ſeems to be written near the end of Henry the Seventh's reign. I found

it

it in an old edition of Merlin's prophecies, imprinted at London by John Hawkins in the year 1530, page 39. I ſet it down word for word in the old orthography, and ſhall take leave to ſubjoin a few explanatory notes.

Seven and Ten addyd to Nine,
Of Fraunce het Woe this is the Sygne,
Tamys Rivere twys y-frozen,
Walke ſans wetyng Shoes ne Hozen.
Then tompth foorthe, Ich underſtonde,
From Towne of Stoffe to fattyn Londe,
An herdie Chyftan, Woe the Yorne
To Fraunce, that ever he was born.
Then ſhall the Fyſhe beweyle his Boſſe;
Nor ſhall grim Berrys make up the Loſſe.
Yonge Symnele ſhall again miſcarrye:
And Norways Pryd again ſhall marrry.
And from the Tree where Bloſums feele,
Ripe Fruit ſhall come, and all is wele,
Reaums ſhall daunce Yonde in Yonde,
And it ſhall be merrye in old Inglonde,
Then old Inglonde ſhall be no more,
And no man ſhall be ſorie therefore.
Gerpon ſhall have three Yedes agayne,
Till Yapsburge makyth them but twayne.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

Seven and Ten, This line deſcribes the year when theſe events ſhall happen. Seven and ten make ſeventeen, which I explain ſeventeen hundred,

dred, and this number added to nine, makes the year we are now in; for it muſt be underſtood of the natural year, which begins the firſt of January.

Tamps Ribere twys, &c. The river Thames frozen twice in one year, ſo as men to walk on it, is a very ſignal accident, which perhaps hath not fallen out for ſeveral hundred years before, and is the reaſon why ſome aſtrologers have thought that this prophecy could never be fulfilled, becauſe they imagined ſuch a thing would never happen in our climate.

From Towne of Stoffe, &c. This is a plain deſignation of the duke of Marlborough: one kind of ſtuff uſed to fatten land is called Marle, and every body knows that Borough is a name for a town; and this way of expreſſion is after the uſual dark manner of old aſtrological predictions.

Then ſhall the Fyſhe, &c. By the fiſh, is underſtood the dauphin of France, as their kings eldeſt ſons are called: it is here ſaid, he ſhall lament the loſs of the duke of Burgundy, called the Boſſe, which is an Engliſh word for hump-ſhoulder, or crook-back, as that duke is known to be; and the prophecy ſeems to mean, that he ſhould be overcome or ſlain. By the green berrys, in the next line, is meant the young duke of Berry, the dauphin's third ſon, who ſhall not have valour or fortune enough to ſupply the loſs of his eldeſt brother.

Yonge Symnele, &c. By Symnele is meant the pretended prince of Wales, who, if he offers to attempt any thing againſt England, ſhall miſcarry as he did before. Lambert Symnele is the name of a young man, noted in our hiſtories for perſonating the ſon (as I remember) of Edward the Fourth.

And Norways Pryd, &c. I cannot gueſs * who is meant by Norway's pride, perhaps the reader may, as well as the ſenſe of the two following lines.

Reaums ſhall, &c. Reaums, or, as the word is now, realms, is the old name for kingdoms: and this is a very plain prediction of our happy union, with the felicities that ſhall attend it. It is added that Old England ſhall be no more, and yet no man ſhall be ſorry for it. And indeed, properly ſpeaking, England is now no more, for the whole iſland is one kingdom under the name of Britain.

Geryon ſhall, &c. This prediction, though ſomewhat obſcure, is wonderfully adapt. Geryon is ſaid to have been a king of Spain, whom Hercules ſlew. It was a fiction of the poets, that he had three heads, which the author ſays he ſhall have again: that is, Spain ſhall have three kings; which is now wonderfully verified; for beſides the king of Portugal, which properly is part of Spain, there are now two rivals for Spain, Charles and Philip: but Charles being deſcended from the count of

* Queen Anne.

Hapſburgh, founder of the Auſtrian family, ſhall ſoon make thoſe heads but two by overturning Philip, and driving him out of Spain.

Some of theſe predictions are already fulfilled; and it is highly probable the reſt may be in due time; and I think, I have not forced the words by my explication into any other ſenſe, than what they will naturally bear. If this be granted, I am ſure it muſt be alſo allowed, that the author (whoever he were) was a perſon of extraordinary ſagacity; and that aſtrology brought to ſuch perfection as this, is by no means an art to be deſpiſed, whatever Mr. Bickerſtaff, or other merry gentlemen are pleaſed to think. As to the tradition of theſe lines having been writ in the original by Merlin, I confeſs I lay not much weight upon it: but it is enough to juſtify their authority, that the book whence I have tranſcribed them, was printed 170 years ago, as appears by the title-page. For the ſatisfaction of any gentleman, who may be either doubtful of the truth, or curious to be informed, I ſhall give order to have the very book ſent to the printer of this paper, with directions to let any body ſee it that pleaſes, becauſe I believe it is pretty ſcarce.

A

MEDITATION

UPON A

BROOM-STICK.

According to the Style and Manner of the Honourable Robert Boyle's Meditations.

THIS ſingle ſtick, which you now behold ingloriouſly lying in that neglected corner, I once knew in a flouriſhing ſtate in a foreſt: it was full of ſap, full of leaves, and full of boughs: but now, in vain does the buſy art of man pretend to vie with nature, by tying that withered bundle of twigs to its ſapleſs trunk: it is now, at beſt, but the reverſe of what it was, a tree turned upſide down, the branches on the earth, and the root in the air; it is now, handled by every dirty wench, condemned to do her drudgery, and by a capricious kind of fate, deſtined to make other things clean, and be naſty itſelf: at length, worn to the ſtumps in the ſervice of the maids, it is either thrown out of doors, or condemned to the laſt uſe, of kindling a fire. When I beheld this, I ſighed, and ſaid within myſelf, **Surely mortal Man is a Broom-ſtick!** nature ſent him into the world ſtrong and

luſty, in a thriving condition, wearing his own hair on his head, the proper branches of this reaſoning vegetable, until the axe of intemperance has lopped off his green boughs, and left him a withered trunk: he then flies to art, and puts on a perriwig, valuing himſelf upon an unnatural bundle of hairs (all covered with powder) that never grew on his head; but now, ſhould this our broom-ſtick pretend to enter the ſcene, proud of thoſe birchen ſpoils it never bore, and all covered with duſt, though the ſweepings of the fineſt lady's chamber, we ſhould be apt to ridicule and deſpiſe its vanity. Partial judges that we are of our own excellencies, and other men's defaults!

But a broom-ſtick, perhaps you will ſay, is an emblem of a tree ſtanding on its head; and pray what is man, but a topſy-turvey creature, his animal faculties perpetually mounted on his rational, his head where his heels ſhould be, groveling on the earth! and yet, with all his faults, he ſets up to be a univerſal reformer and corrector of abuſes, a remover of grievances, rakes into every ſlut's corner of nature, bringing hidden corruptions to the light, and raiſes a mighty duſt where there was none before; ſharing deeply all the while in the very ſame pollutions he pretends to ſweep away: his laſt days are ſpent in ſlavery to women, and generally the leaſt deſerving; till worn out to the ſtumps, like his brother beſom, he is either kicked out of doors, or made uſe of to kindle flames for others to warm themſelves by.

A

PROPOSAL

For correcting, improving, and aſcertaining the

ENGLISH TONGUE.

IN

A Letter to the Moſt Honourable ROBERT Earl of OXFORD and MORTIMER, Lord High Treaſurer of GREAT-BRITAIN.

To the moſt Honourable ROBERT Earl of OXFORD, &c.

MY LORD,

WHAT I had the honour of mentioning to your lordſhip ſome time ago in converſation, was not a new thought, juſt then ſtarted by accident or occaſion, bnt the reſult of long reflection, and I have been confirmed in my ſentiments, by the opinion of ſome very judicious perſons, with whom I conſulted. They all agreed, that nothing would be of greater uſe towards the improvement of knowledge and politeneſs, than ſome effectual method for correcting, enlarging, and aſcertaining our language; * and they think it a

* This ſentence is uncouth, and ungrammatical, and may eaſily be amended thus—'And they think it very poſſible to compaſs the work, &c.'

work

work very poſſible to be compaſſed under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a miniſtry, and the care of proper perſons choſen for ſuch an undertaking. I was glad to find your lordſhip's anſwer in ſo different a ſtyle, from what has been commonly made uſe of on the like occaſions, for ſome years paſt, That all ſuch thoughts muſt be deferred to a time of peace: a topick, which ſome have carried ſo far, that they would not have us by any means think of preſerving our civil or religious conſtitution, becauſe we are engaged in a war abroad. It will be among the diſtinguiſhing marks of your miniſtry, my lord, that you have a genius above all ſuch regards, and that no reaſonable propoſal for the honour, the advantage, or the ornament of your country, however foreign to your more immediate office, was ever neglected by you. I confeſs the merit of this candour and condeſcenſion is very much leſſened, becauſe your lordſhip hardly leaves us room to offer our good wiſhes; removing all our difficulties, and ſupplying our wants, faſter than the moſt viſionary projector can adjuſt his ſchemes. And therefore, my lord, the deſign of this paper is not ſo much to offer you ways and means, as to complain of a grievance, the redreſſing of which is to be your own work, as much as that of paying the nation's debts, or opening a trade into the South-Sea; and though not of ſuch immediate benefit, as either of theſe, or any other of your glorious actions, yet, perhaps, in future ages not leſs to your honour.

My lord, I do here in the name of all the learned and polite perſons of the nation, complain to your lordſhip, as firſt miniſter, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to poliſh and refine it, have chiefly multiplied abuſes and abſurdities; and that in many inſtances it offends againſt every part of grammar. But leſt your lordſhip ſhould think my cenſure too ſevere, I ſhall take leave to be more particular.

I believe your lordſhip will agree with me in the reaſon, why our language is leſs refined than thoſe of Italy, Spain, or France. 'Tis plain, that the Latin tongue in its purity was never in this iſland, towards the conqueſt of which, few or no attempts were made till the time of Claudius; neither was that language ever ſo vulgar in Britain, as it is known to have been in Gaul and Spain. Farther, we find that the Roman legions here were at length all recalled to help their country againſt the Goths, and other barbarous invaders. Mean time the Britains, left to ſhift for themſelves, and daily haraſſed by cruel inroads from the Picts, were forced to call in the Saxons for their defence; who, conſequently, reduced the greateſt part of the iſland to their own power, drove the Britains into the moſt remote and mountainous parts, and the reſt of the country, in cuſtoms, religion, and language, became wholly Saxon. This I take to be the reaſon, why there are more Latin words remaining in the

Britiſh tongue, than in the old Saxon, which, excepting ſome few variations in the orthography, is the ſame in moſt original words with our preſent Engliſh, as well as with the German and other Northern dialects.

Edward the Confeſſor, having lived long in France, appears to be the firſt who introduced any mixture of the French tongue with the Saxon; the court affecting what the prince was fond of, and others taking it up for a faſhion, as it is now with us. William the Conqueror proceeded much farther; bringing over with him vaſt numbers of that nation, ſcattering them in every monaſtery, giving them great quantities of land, directing all pleadings to be in that language, and endeavouring to make it univerſal in the kingdom. This at leaſt is the opinion generally received: but your lordſhip has fully convinced me, that the French tongue made yet a greater progreſs here under Harry the Second, who had large territories on that continent both from his father and his wife, made frequent journeys and expeditions thither, and was always attended with a number of his countrymen, retainers at his court. For ſome centuries after, there was a conſtant intercourſe between France and England, by the dominions we poſſeſſed there, and the conqueſts we made; ſo that our language between two and three hundred years ago, ſeems to have had a greater mixture with French, than at preſent; many words having been afterwards rejected, and ſome ſince the time of Spencer; al-

though we have ſtill retained not a few, which have been long antiquated in France. I could produce ſeveral inſtances of both kinds, if it were of any uſe or entertainment.

To examine into the ſeveral circumſtances by which the language of a country may be alter'd, would force me to enter into a wide field. I ſhall only obſerve, that the Latin, the French, and the Engliſh, ſeem to have undergone the ſame fortune. The firſt, from the days of Romulus to thoſe of Julius Cæſar, ſuffered perpetual changes: and by what we meet in thoſe authors who occaſionally ſpeak on that ſubject, as well as from certain fragments of old laws, it is manifeſt that the Latin three hundred years before Tully, was as unintelligible in his time, as the Engliſh and French of the ſame period are now; and theſe two have changed as much ſince William the Conqueror, (which is but little leſs than ſeven hundred years) as the Latin appears to have done in the like term. Whether our language, or the French, will decline as faſt as the Roman did, is a queſtion, that would perhaps admit more debate than it is worth. There were many reaſons for the corruptions of the laſt: as, the change of their government to a tyranny, which ruined the ſtudy of eloquence, there being no farther uſe or encouragement for popular orators: their giving not only the freedom of the city, but capacity for employments, to ſeveral towns in Gaul, Spain, and Germany, and other diſtant parts, as far as Aſia; which brought a great number

ber of foreign pretenders into Rome: the ſlaviſh diſpoſition of the ſenate and people, by which the wit and eloquence of the age were wholly turned into panegyrick, the moſt barren of all ſubjects: the great corruption of manners, and introduction of foreign luxury, with foreign terms to expreſs it, with ſeveral others, that might be aſſigned; not to mention thoſe invaſions from the Goths and Vandals, * which are too obvious to inſiſt on.

The Roman language arrived at great perfection, before it began to decay: and the French, for theſe laſt fifty years, has been poliſhing as much as it will bear, and appears to be declining by the natural inconſtancy of that people, and the affectation of ſome late authors to introduce and multiply cant words, which is the moſt ruinous corruption in any language. La Bruyere, a late celebrated writer among them, makes uſe of many new terms, which are not to be found in any of the common dictionaries before his time. But the Engliſh tongue is not arrived to ſuch a degree of perfection, as to make us apprehend any thoughts of its decay; and if it were once refined to a certain ſtandard, perhaps there might be ways found out to fix it for ever, or at leaſt till we are invaded and made a conqueſt † by ſome other ſtate; and even then our beſt writings might probably be preſerved

* This is ungrammatical; it ſhould be—'which are too obvious *to be inſiſted on.*

† It ſhould be—'made a conqueſt *of*, &c.'

with care, and grow into eſteem, and the authors have a chance for immortality.

But without ſuch great revolutions as theſe (to which we are, I think, leſs ſubject than kingdoms upon the continent) I ſee no abſolute neceſſity why any language ſhould be perpetually changing; for we find many examples to the contrary. From Homer to Plutarch are above a thouſand years; ſo long at leaſt the purity of the Greek tongue may be allowed to laſt, and we know not how far before. The Grecians ſpread their colonies round all the coaſts of Aſia Minor, even to the Northern parts lying towards the Euxine, in every iſland of the Ægæan ſea, and ſeveral others in the Mediterranean; where the language was preſerved entire for many ages, after they themſelves became colonies to Rome, and till they were over-run by the barbarous nations upon the fall of that Empire. The Chineſe have books in their language above two thouſand years old, neither have the frequent conqueſts of the Tartars been able to alter it. The German, Spaniſh, and Italian, have admitted few or no changes for ſome ages paſt. The other languages of Europe I know nothing of; neither is there any occaſion to conſider them.

Having taken this compaſs, I return to thoſe conſiderations upon our own language, which I would humbly offer your lordſhip. The period, wherein the Engliſh tongue received moſt improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty-two. 'Tis true, there was a very

ill

ill taſte both of ſtyle and wit, which prevailed under king James the firſt; but that ſeems to have been corrected in the firſt years of his ſucceſſor, who, among many other qualifications of an excellent prince, was a great patron of learning. From the civil war to this preſent time, I am apt to doubt, whether the corruptions in our language, have not at leaſt equalled the refinements of it; and theſe corruptions very few of the beſt authors in our age have wholly eſcaped. During the uſurpation, ſuch an infuſion of enthuſiaſtic jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not ſhaken off in many years after. To this ſucceeded that licentiouſneſs which entered with the reſtoration, and from infecting our religion and morals, fell to corrupt our language; which laſt was not likely to be much improved by thoſe, who at that time made up the court of king Charles the ſecond; either ſuch, who had followed him in his baniſhment, or who had been altogether converſant in the dialect of thoſe fanatic times; or young men, who had been educated in the ſame country: ſo that the court, which uſed to be the ſtandard of propriety and correctneſs of ſpeech, was then, and, I think, has ever ſince continued, the worſt ſchool in England for that accompliſhment; and ſo will remain, till better care be taken in the education of our young nobility, that they may ſet out into the world with ſome foundation of literature, in order to qualify them for patterns of politeneſs. The conſequence of this defect upon our language, may appear from the plays, and other compoſitions written for entertainment within fifty

years paſt; filled with a ſucceſſion of affected phraſes, and new conceited words, either borrowed from the current ſtyle of the court, or from thoſe, who, under the character of men of wit and pleaſure, pretended to give the law. Many of theſe refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which is no wonder, when they were the product only of ignorance and caprice.

I have never known this great town without one or more dunces of figure, who had credit enough to give riſe to ſome new word, and propagate it in moſt converſations, though it had neither humour nor ſignificancy. If it ſtruck the preſent taſte, it was ſoon transferred into the plays and current ſcribbles of the week, and became an addition to our language; while the men of wit and learning, inſtead of early obviating ſuch corruptions, were too often ſeduced to imitate and comply with them.

There is another ſet of men, who have contributed very much to the ſpoiling of the Engliſh tongue; I mean the poets from the time of the reſtoration. Theſe gentlemen, although they could not be inſenſible how much our language was already overſtocked with monoſyllables, yet, to ſave time and pains, introduced that barbarous cuſtom of abbreviating words, to fit them to the meaſure of their verſes; and this they have frequently done ſo very injudiciouſly, as to form ſuch harſh unharmonious ſounds, that none but a northern ear could endure; they have joined the moſt obdurate conſonants

ſonants without one intervening vowel, only to ſhorten a ſyllable: and their taſte in time became ſo depraved, that what was at firſt a poetical licenſe, not to be juſtified, they made their choice, alledging, that the words pronounced at length ſounded faint and languid. This was a pretence to take up the ſame cuſtom in proſe: ſo that moſt of the books we ſee now-a-days, are full of thoſe manglings and abbreviations. Inſtances of this abuſe are innumerable: what does your lordſhip think of the words, drudg'd, diſturb'd, rebuk'd, fledg'd, and a thouſand others every where to be met with in proſe as well as verſe? Where by leaving out a vowel to ſave a ſyllable, we form ſo jarring a ſound, and ſo difficult to utter, that I have often wondered how it could ever obtain.

Another cauſe (and perhaps borrowed from the former) which has contributed not a little to the maiming of our language, is a fooliſh opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to ſpell exactly as we ſpeak; which, beſide the obvious inconvenience of utterly deſtroying our etymology, would be a thing we ſhould never ſee an end of. Not only the ſeveral towns and counties of England have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in London they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the ſuburbs: and in a few years, it is probable, will all differ from themſelves, as fancy or faſhion ſhall direct: all which reduced to writing would entirely confound orthography. Yet many people are ſo fond of this conceit, that it is ſometimes a difficult

difficult matter to read modern books and pamphlets; where the words are ſo curtailed, and varied from their original ſpelling, that whoever has been uſed to plain Engliſh, will hardly know them by ſight.

Several young men at the univerſities, terribly poſſeſſed with the fear of pedantry, run into a worſe extreme, and think all politeneſs to conſiſt in reading the daily traſh ſent down to them from hence: this they call knowing the world, and reading men and manners. Thus furniſhed they come up to town, reckon all their errors for accompliſhments, borrow the neweſt ſet of phraſes; and if they take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have picked up in a coffee-houſe, or a gaming ordinary, are produced as flowers of ſtile; and the orthography refined to the utmoſt. To this we owe thoſe monſtrous productions, which under the name of trips, ſpies, amuſements, and other conceited appellations, have over-run us for ſome years paſt. To this we owe that ſtrange race of wits, who tell us, they write to the humour of the age. And I wiſh I could ſay, theſe quaint fopperies were wholly abſent from graver ſubjects. In ſhort, I would undertake to ſhew your lordſhip ſeveral pieces, where the beauties of this kind are ſo predominant, that with all your ſkill in languages, you could never be able to read or underſtand them.

But I am very much miſtaken, if many of theſe falſe refinements among us do not ariſe from a principle, which would quite deſtroy their credit, if it were well underſtood and conſidered. For I

am afraid, my lord, that with all the real good qualities of our country, we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual diſpoſition to ſhorten our words, by retrenching the vowels, is nothing elſe but a tendency to lapſe into the barbarity of thoſe northern nations, from whom we are deſcended, and whoſe languages labour all under the ſame defect. For it is worthy our obſervation, that the Spaniards, the French, and the Italians, although derived from the ſame northern anceſtors with ourſelves, are with the utmoſt difficulty taught to pronounce our words, which the Swedes and Danes, as well as the Germans and the Dutch, attain to with eaſe, becauſe our ſyllables reſemble theirs in the roughneſs and frequency of conſonants. Now, as we ſtruggle with an ill climate to improve the nobler kinds of fruits, are at the expence of walls to receive and reverberate the faint rays of the ſun, and fence againſt the northern blaſts, we ſometimes, by the help of a good ſoil, equal the production of warmer countries, who have no need to be at ſo much coſt and care. It is the ſame thing with reſpect to the politer arts among us; and the ſame defect of heat which gives a fierceneſs to our natures, may contribute to that roughneſs of our language, which bears ſome analogy to the harſh fruit of colder countries. For I do not reckon that we want a genius more than the reſt of our neighbours: but your lordſhip will be of my opinion, that we ought to ſtruggle with theſe natural diſadvantages as much as we can, and be careful whom we employ, whenever we deſign to correct them,

them, which is a work that has hitherto been aſſumed by the leaſt qualified hands. So that if the choice had been left to me, I would rather have truſted the refinement of our language, as far as it relates to ſound, to the judgment of the women, than of illiterate court-fops, half-witted poets, and univerſity-boys. For it is plain, that women, in their manner of corrupting words, do naturally diſcard the conſonants, as we do the vowels. What I am going to tell your lordſhip appears very trifling: that more than once, where ſome of both ſexes were in company, I have perſuaded two or three of each to take a pen, and write down a number of letters joined together, juſt as it came into their heads; and upon reading this gibberiſh, we have found that which the men * had wrote, by the frequent encountring of rough conſonants, to ſound like High Dutch; and the other, by the women, like Italian, abounding in vowels and liquids. Now, though I would by no means give ladies the trouble of adviſing us in the reformation of our language, yet I cannot help thinking, that ſince they have been left out of all meetings, except parties at play, or where worſe deſigns are carried on, our converſation has very much degenerated.

In order to reform our language, I conceive, my lord, that a free judicious choice ſhould be made of ſuch perſons, as are generally allowed to be beſt qualified for ſuch a work, without any regard to

* It ſhould be—'*had written.*'

quality,

quality, party or profeſſion. Theſe, to a certain number at leaſt, ſhould aſſemble at ſome appointed time and place, and fix on rules, by which they deſign to proceed. What methods they will take, is not for me to preſcribe. Your lordſhip, and other perſons in great employment, might pleaſe to be of the number: and I am afraid ſuch a ſociety would want your inſtruction and example, as much as your protection; for I have, not without a little envy, obſerved of late the ſtyle of ſome great miniſters very much to exceed that of any other productions.

The perſons who are to undertake this work, will have the example of the French before them to imitate, where theſe have proceeded right, and to avoid their miſtakes. Beſide the grammar-part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will obſerve many groſs improprieties, which however authoriſed by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be diſcarded. They will find many words that deſerve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long ſince antiquated, which ought to be reſtored on account of their energy and ſound.

But what I have moſt at heart, is, that ſome method ſhould be thought on for aſcertaining and fixing our language for ever, after ſuch alterations are made in it as ſhall be thought requiſite. For I am of opinion, that it is better a language ſhould not be wholly perfect, than that it ſhould be perpetually changing; and we muſt give over at one time, or at length infallibly change for the worſe;

as the Romans did, when they began to quit their ſimplicity of ſtyle, for affected refinements, ſuch as we meet in Tacitus and other authors; which ended by degrees in many * barbarities, even before the Goths had invaded Italy.

The fame of our writers is uſually confined to theſe two iſlands, and it is hard it ſhould be limited in time, as much as place, by the perpetual variations of our ſpeech. It is your lordſhip's obſervation, that if it were not for the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the vulgar tongue, we ſhould hardly be able to underſtand any thing, that was written among us a hundred years ago; which is certainly true: for thoſe books, being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of ſtandard for language, eſpecially to the common people. And I doubt, whether the alterations ſince introduced, have added much to the beauty or ſtrength of the Engliſh tongue, though they have taken off a great deal from that ſimplicity, which is one of the greateſt perfections in any language. You, my lord, who are ſo converſant in the ſacred writings, and ſo great a judge of them in their originals, will agree, that no tranſlation our country ever yet produced, has come up to that of the Old and New Teſtament: and by the many beautiful paſſages, which I have often had the honour to hear your lordſhip cite from thence, I am perſuaded, that the

* *Barbariſms*, would here be a more proper word, as being more peculiarly appropriated to expreſs faults and impurities in ſtyle: and *barbarity*, in general, conveying the idea of cruelty.

tranſlators

tranſlators of the bible were maſters of an Engliſh ſtyle much fitter for that work, than any we ſee in our preſent writings; which I take to be owing to the ſimplicity that runs through the whole. Then, as to the greateſt part of our liturgy, compiled long before the tranſlation of the Bible now in uſe, and little altered ſince; there ſeem to be in it as great ſtrains of true ſublime eloquence, as are any where to be found in our language; which every man of good taſte will obſerve in the communion ſervice, that of burial, and other parts.

But when I ſay, that I would have our language, after it is duly correct, always to laſt, I do not mean that it ſhould never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a ſociety ſhall give a ſanction to, be afterwards antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they ſhall find occaſion for; becauſe then the old books will yet be always valuable, according to their intrinſick worth, and not thrown aſide on account of unintelligible words and phraſes, which appear harſh and uncouth, only becauſe they are out of faſhion. Had the Roman tongue continued vulgar in that city till this time, it would have been abſolutely neceſſary, from the mighty changes that have been made in law and religion, from the many terms of art required in trade and in war, from the new inventions that have happened in the world, from the vaſt ſpreading of navigation and commerce, with many other obvious circumſtances, to have made great additions to that language; yet the ancients would ſtill have been read and underſtood with pleaſure

ſure and eaſe. The Greek tongue received many enlargements between the time of Homer and that of Plutarch, yet the former author, was probably as well underſtood in Trajan's time, as the latter. What Horace ſays of words going off and periſhing like leaves, and new ones coming in their place, is a misfortune he laments, rather than a thing he approves; but I cannot ſee why this ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary, or if it were, what would have become of his *monumentum ære perennius*.

Writing by memory only, as I do at preſent, I would gladly keep within my depth; and therefore ſhall not enter into farther particulars. Neither do I pretend more than to ſhew the uſefulneſs of this deſign, and to make ſome general obſervations, leaving the reſt to that ſociety, which I hope will owe its inſtitution and patronage to your lordſhip. Beſides, I would willingly avoid repetition, having about a year ago communicated to the publick much of what I had to offer upon this ſubject, by the hands of an ingenious gentleman, who for a long time did thrice a week divert or inſtruct the kingdom by his papers; and is ſuppoſed to purſue the ſame deſign at preſent under the title of Spectator. This author, who has tried the force and compaſs of our language with ſo much ſucceſs, agrees entirely with me in moſt of my ſentiments relating to it; ſo do the greateſt part of the men of wit and learning, whom I have had the happineſs to converſe with; and therefore I imagine that ſuch a ſociety would be pretty unanimous in the main points.

Your

Your lordſhip muſt allow, that ſuch a work as this, brought to perfection, would very much contribute to the glory of her majeſty's reign; which ought to be recorded in words more durable than braſs, and ſuch as our poſterity may read a thouſand years hence, with pleaſure, as well as admiration. I always diſapproved that falſe compliment to princes, that the moſt laſting monument they can have, is the hearts of their ſubjects. It is indeed their greateſt preſent felicity to reign in their ſubjects hearts; but theſe are too periſhable to preſerve their memories, which can only be done by the pens of able and faithful hiſtorians. And I take it to be your lordſhip's duty, as prime miniſter, to give order for inſpecting our language, and rendering it fit to record the hiſtory of ſo great and good a princeſs. Beſides, my lord, as diſintereſted as you appear to the world, I am convinced that no man is more in the power of a prevailing favourite paſſion, than yourſelf; I mean that deſire of true and laſting honour, which you have borne along with you through every ſtage of your life. To this you have often ſacrificed your intereſt, your eaſe, and your health: for preſerving and increaſing this, you have expoſed your perſon to ſecret treachery, and open violence. There is not perhaps an example in hiſtory of any miniſter, who in ſo ſhort a time has performed ſo many great things, and overcome ſo many difficulties. Now, though I am fully convinced, that you fear God, honour your queen, and love your country, as much as any of your fellow-ſubjects, yet I muſt believe that the deſire

of fame has been no inconſiderable motive to quicken you in the purſuit of thoſe actions, which will beſt deſerve it. But at the ſame time I muſt be ſo plain as to tell your lordſhip, that if you will not take ſome care to ſettle our language, and put it into a ſtate of continuance, I cannot promiſe that your memory ſhall be preſerved above a hundred years, farther than by imperfect tradition.

As barbarous and ignorant as we were in former centuries, there was more effectual care taken by our anceſtors, to preſerve the memory of times and perſons, than we find in this age of learning and politeneſs, as we are pleaſed to call it. The rude Latin of the monks is ſtill very intelligible: whereas, had their records been delivered down only in the vulgar tongue, ſo barren and ſo barbarous, ſo ſubject to continual ſucceeding changes, they could not now be underſtood, unleſs by antiquaries, who make it their ſtudy to expound them. And we muſt, at this day, have been content with ſuch poor abſtracts of our Engliſh ſtory, as laborious men of low genius would think fit to give us: and even theſe, in the next age, would be likewiſe ſwallowed up in ſucceeding collections. If things go on at this rate, all I can promiſe your lordſhip, is, that about two hundred years hence, ſome painful compiler, who will be at the trouble of ſtudying old language, may inform the world, that in the reign of queen Anne, Robert earl of Oxford, a very wiſe and excellent man, was made high treaſurer, and ſaved his country, which in thoſe days was almoſt ruined by a foreign war, and

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a domeſtick faction. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his new hiſtory; but the reſt of your character, which I, or any other writer may now value ourſelves by drawing, and the particular account of the great things done under your miniſtry, for which you are already ſo celebrated in moſt parts of Europe, will probably be dropped, on account of the antiquated ſtile and manner they are delivered in.

How then ſhall any man, who has a genius for hiſtory equal to the beſt of the ancients, be able to undertake ſuch a work with ſpirit and cheerfulneſs, when he conſiders that he will be read with pleaſure but a very few years, and in an age or two ſhall hardly be underſtood without an interpreter? This is like employing an excellent ſtatuary to work upon mouldering ſtone. Thoſe, who apply their ſtudies to preſerve the memory of others, will always have ſome concern for their own. And I believe it is for this reaſon, that ſo few writers among us, of any diſtinction, have turned their thoughts to ſuch a diſcouraging employment: for, the beſt Engliſh hiſtorian muſt lie under this mortification, that when his ſtyle grows antiquated, he will be only conſidered as a tedious relater of facts; and perhaps conſulted in his turn, among other neglected authors, to furniſh materials for ſome future collector.

I doubt your lordſhip is but ill entertained with a few ſcattered thoughts upon a ſubject, that deſerves to be treated with ability and care: however, I muſt beg leave to add a few words more, per-

haps not altogether foreign to the ſame matter. I know not whether that which I am going to ſay may paſs for caution, advice, or reproach, any of which, will be juſtly thought very improper from one in my ſtation, to one in yours. However, I muſt venture to affirm, that if genius and learning be not encouraged under your lordſhip's adminiſtration, you are the moſt inexcuſable perſon alive. All your other virtues, my lord, will be defective without this; your affability, candor, and good nature; that perpetual agreeableneſs of converſation, ſo diſengaged in the midſt of ſuch a weight of buſineſs and oppoſition; even your juſtice, prudence, and magnanimity, will ſhine leſs bright without it. Your lordſhip is univerſally allowed to poſſeſs a very large portion in moſt parts of literature; and to this you owe the cultivating of thoſe many virtues, which, otherwiſe, would have been leſs adorned, or in lower perfection. Neither can you acquit yourſelf of theſe obligations, without letting the arts, in their turn, ſhare your influence and protection: beſides, who knows but ſome true genius may happen to ariſe under your miniſtry, *exortus ut ætherius ſol.* Every age might perhaps produce one or two of theſe to adorn it, if they were not ſunk under the cenſure and obloquy of plodding, ſervile, imitating pedants: I do not mean by a true genius any bold writer, who breaks through the rules of decency, to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the ſingularity of his opinions: but one, who, upon a deſerving ſubject, is able to open new ſcenes, and diſcover a vein of true and noble thinking,

ing, which never entered into any imagination before: every ſtroke of whoſe pen, is worth all the paper blotted by hundreds of others in the compaſs of their lives. I know, my lord, your friends will offer in your defence, that in your private capacity, you never refuſed your purſe and credit to the ſervice and ſupport of learned or ingenious men: and that ever ſince you have been in publick employment, you have conſtantly beſtowed your favours to the moſt deſerving perſons. But I deſire your lordſhip not to be deceived; we never will admit of theſe excuſes, nor will allow your private liberality, as great as it is, to atone for your exceſſive publick thrift. But here again I am afraid moſt good ſubjects will interpoſe in your defence, by alledging the deſperate condition you found the nation in, and the neceſſity there was for ſo able and faithful a ſteward to retrieve it, if poſſible, by the utmoſt frugality. We grant all this, my lord; but then it ought likewiſe to be conſidered, that you have already ſaved ſeveral millions to the publick, and that what we aſk, is too inconſiderable to break into any rules of the ſtricteſt good huſbandry. The French king beſtows about half a dozen penſions to learned men in ſeveral parts of Europe, and perhaps a dozen in his own kingdom; which, in the whole, do probably not amount to half the income of many a private commoner in England, yet have more contributed to the glory of that prince, than any million he has otherwiſe employed. For, learning, like all true merit, is eaſily ſatisfied; while the falſe and counterfeit, is perpetually crav-

ing, and never thinks it has enough. The ſmalleſt favour given by a great prince, as a mark of eſteem, to reward the endowments of the mind, never fails to be returned with praiſe and gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the world. I have known ſome years ago ſeveral penſions given to particular perſons, (how deſervedly I ſhall not inquire) any one of which, if divided into ſmaller parcels, and diſtributed by the crown to thoſe, who might upon occaſion diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome extraordinary production of wit or learning, would be amply ſufficient to anſwer the end. Or, if any ſuch perſons were above money, (as every great genius certainly is with very moderate conveniencies of life) a medal, or ſome mark of diſtinction, would do full as well.

But I forget my province, and find myſelf turning projector before I am aware; although it be one of the laſt characters under which I ſhould deſire to appear before your lordſhip, eſpecially when I have the ambition of aſpiring to that of being with the greateſt reſpect and truth,

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
moſt obedient, moſt obliged,
and moſt humble ſervant.

London, Feb. 22.
1711-12.

A

LETTER

TO

A YOUNG CLERGYMAN,

LATELY ENTERED INTO

HOLY ORDERS.

SIR, DUBLIN, Jan. 9, 1719-20.

ALTHOUGH it was againſt my knowledge or advice, that you entered into holy orders, under the preſent diſpoſitions of mankind towards the church, yet ſince it is now ſuppoſed too late to recede, (at leaſt according to the general practice and opinion) I cannot forbear offering my thoughts to you upon this new condition of life you are engaged in.

I could heartily wiſh, that the circumſtances of your fortune had enabled you to have continued ſome years longer in the univerſity, at leaſt till you were ten years ſtanding; to have laid in a competent ſtock of human learning, and ſome knowledge in divinity, before you attempted to appear in the world: for I cannot but lament the common courſe,

which at leaſt nine in ten of thoſe, who enter into the miniſtry, are obliged to run. When they have taken a degree, and are conſequently grown a burden to their friends who now think themſelves fully diſcharged, they get into orders as ſoon as they can, (upon which I ſhall make no remarks) firſt ſollicit a readerſhip, and if they be very fortunate, arrive in time to a curacy here in town, or elſe are ſent to be aſſiſtants in the country, where they probably continue ſeveral years (many of them their whole lives) with thirty or forty pounds a year for their ſupport: till ſome biſhop, who happens to be not overſtocked with relations, or attached to favourites, or is content to ſupply his dioceſe without colonies from England, beſtows upon them ſome inconſiderable benefice, when it is odds they are already encumbered with a numerous family. I ſhould be glad to know, what intervals of life ſuch perſons can poſſibly ſet apart for the improvement of their minds; or which way they could be furniſhed with books, the library they brought with them from their college, being uſually not the moſt numerous, or judiciouſly choſen. If ſuch gentlemen arrive to be great ſcholars, it muſt, I think, be either by means ſupernatural, or by a method altogether out of any road yet known to the learned. But I conceive the fact directly otherwiſe, and that many of them loſe the greateſt part of the ſmall pittance they received at the univerſity.

I take it for granted, that you intend to purſue the beaten track, and are already deſirous to be ſeen in a pulpit; only I hope you will think it proper

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to paſs your quarentine among ſome of the deſolate churches five miles round this town, where you may at leaſt learn to read and to ſpeak, before you venture to expoſe your parts in a city-congregation; not that theſe are better judges, but becauſe, if a man muſt needs expoſe his folly, it is more ſafe and diſcreet to do ſo before few witneſſes, and in a ſcattered neighbourhood. And you will do well if you can prevail upon ſome intimate and judicious friend to be your conſtant hearer, and allow him with the utmoſt freedom to give you notice of whatever he ſhall find amiſs, either in your voice or geſture; for want of which early warning, many clergymen continue defective, and ſometimes ridiculous, to the end of their lives. Neither is it rare to obſerve among excellent and learned divines, a certain ungracious manner, or an unhappy tone of voice, which they never have been able to ſhake off.

I ſhould likewiſe have been glad, if you had applied yourſelf a little more to the ſtudy of the Engliſh language, than I fear you have done; the neglect whereof is one of the moſt general defects among the ſcholars of this kingdom, who ſeem not to have the leaſt conception of a ſtyle, but run on in a flat kind of phraſeology, often mingled with barbarous terms and expreſſions, peculiar to the nation: neither do I perceive that any perſon either finds or acknowledges his wants upon this head, or in the leaſt deſires to have them ſupplied. Proper words, in proper places, make the true definition of a ſtyle. But this would require too ample a diſquiſition to be now dwelt on: however, I ſhall

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venture to name one or two faults, which are * eaſy to be remedied, with a very ſmall portion of abilities.

The firſt, is the frequent uſe of obſcure terms, which by the women are called hard words, and by the better ſort of vulgar fine language; than which I do not know a more univerſal, inexcuſable, and unneceſſary miſtake, among the clergy of all diſtinctions, but eſpecially the younger practitioners. I have been curious enough to take a liſt of ſeveral hundred words in a ſermon of a new beginner, which not one of his hearers among a hundred could poſſibly underſtand; neither can I eaſily call to mind any clergyman of my own acquaintance, who is wholly exempt from this error, although many of them agree with me in the diſlike of the thing. But I am apt to put myſelf in the place of the vulgar, and think many words difficult or obſcure, which the preacher will not allow to be ſo, becauſe thoſe words are obvious to ſcholars. I believe the method obſerved by the famous lord Falkland, in ſome of his writings, would not be an ill one for young divines: I was aſſured by an old perſon of quality, who knew him well, that when he doubted whether a word was perfectly intelligible or not, he uſed to conſult one of his lady's chambermaids, (not the waiting-woman, becauſe it was poſſible ſhe might be converſant in romances)

* It ſhould be—'which are *eaſily* to be remedied;' that is, remedied with eaſe. The abſurdity of uſing the adjective inſtead of the adverb, will be manifeſt only by tranſpoſing the words, thus—which are to be remedied *eaſy*—inſtead of eaſily. This is a fault frequently committed.

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and by her judgment was guided whether to receive or reject it. And if that great perſon thought ſuch a caution neceſſary in treatiſes offered to the learned world, it will be ſure at leaſt as proper in ſermons, where the meaneſt hearer is ſuppoſed to be concerned, and where very often a lady's chambermaid may be allowed to equal half the congregation, both as to quality and underſtanding. But I know not how it comes to paſs, that profeſſors in moſt arts and ſciences are generally the worſt qualified to explain their meanings to thoſe, who are not of their tribe: a common farmer ſhall make you underſtand in three words, that his foot is out of joint, or his collar-bone broken; wherein a ſurgeon, after a hundred terms of art, if you are not a ſcholar, ſhall leave you to ſeek. It is frequently the ſame caſe in law, phyſick, and even many of the meaner arts.

And upon this account it is, that among hard words, I number likewiſe thoſe, which are peculiar to divinity as it is a ſcience, becauſe I have obſerved ſeveral clergymen, otherwiſe little fond of obſcure terms, yet in their ſermons very liberal of thoſe, which they find in eccleſiaſtical writers, as if it were our duty to underſtand them; which I am ſure it is not. And I defy the greateſt divine to produce any law either of God or man, which obliges me to comprehend the meaning of omniſcience, omnipreſence, ubiquity, attribute, beatifick viſion, with a thouſand others ſo frequent in pulpits, any more than that of excentrick, idioſyncracy, entity, and the like. I believe I may ven-

ture to inſiſt farther, that many terms uſed in holy writ, particularly by St. Paul, might with more diſcretion be changed into plainer ſpeech, except when they are introduced as part of a quotation.

I am the more earneſt in this matter, becauſe it is a general complaint, and the juſteſt in the world. For, a divine has nothing to ſay to the wiſeſt congregation of any pariſh in this kingdom, which he may not expreſs in a manner to be underſtood by the meaneſt among them. And this aſſertion muſt be true, or elſe God requires from us more than we are able to perform. However, not to contend whether a logician might poſſibly put a caſe that would ſerve for an exception, I will appeal to any man of letters, whether at leaſt nineteen in twenty of thoſe perplexing words, might not be changed into eaſy ones, ſuch as naturally firſt occur to ordinary men, and probably did ſo at firſt to thoſe very gentlemen, who are ſo fond of the former.

We are often reproved by divines, from the pulpits, on account of our ignorance in things ſacred, and perhaps with juſtice enough: however, it is not very reaſonable for them to expect, that common men ſhould underſtand expreſſions, which are never made uſe of in common life. No gentleman thinks it ſafe or prudent to ſend a ſervant with a meſſage, without repeating it more than once, and endeavouring to put it into terms brought down to the capacity of the bearer: yet, after all this care, it is frequent for ſervants to miſtake, and ſometimes occaſion miſunderſtandings among friends. Although the common domeſticks in ſome

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gentlemen's families, have more opportunities of improving their minds, than the ordinary ſort of tradeſmen.

It is uſual for clergymen, who are taxed with this learned defect, to quote Dr. Tillotſon, and other famous divines, in their defence, without conſidering the difference between elaborate diſcourſes upon important occaſions, delivered to princes or parliaments, written with a view of being made publick, and a plain ſermon intended for the middle or lower ſize of people. Neither do they ſeem to remember the many alterations, additions, and expungings made by great authors in thoſe treatiſes, which they prepare for the publick. Beſides, that excellent prelate above-mentioned, was known to preach after a much more popular manner in the city-congregations: and if in thoſe parts of his works he be any where too obſcure for the underſtandings of many, who may be ſuppoſed to have been his hearers, it ought to be numbered among his omiſſions.

The fear of being thought pedants, has been of pernicious conſequence to young divines. This has wholly taken many of them off from their ſeverer ſtudies in the univerſity; which they have exchanged for plays, poems, and pamphlets, in order to qualify them for tea-tables and coffee-houſes. This they uſually call "polite converſa-" tion, knowing the world, and reading men in-" ſtead of books." Theſe accompliſhments, when applied to the pulpit, appear by a quaint, terſe, florid ſtyle, rounded into periods and cadences, commonly

commonly without either propriety or meaning. I have liſtened with my utmoſt attention for half an hour to an orator of this ſpecies, without being able to underſtand, much leſs to carry away, one ſingle ſentence out of a whole ſermon. Others, to ſhew that their ſtudies have not been confined to ſciences, or ancient authors, will talk in the ſtile of a gaming ordinary, and * White Friars, when I ſuppoſe the hearers can be little edified by the terms of "palming, ſhuffling, biting, bamboozling," and the like, if they have not been ſometimes converſant among pickpockets and ſharpers. And truly, as they ſay a man is known by his company, ſo it ſhould ſeem that a man's company may be known by his manner of expreſſing himſelf, either in public aſſemblies, or private converſation.

It would be endleſs to run over the ſeveral defects of ſtyle among us: I ſhall therefore ſay nothing of the mean and the paultry (which are uſually attended by the fuſtian) much leſs of the ſlovenly or indecent. Two things I will juſt warn you againſt: the firſt is, the frequency of flat unneceſſary epithets; and the other is, the folly of

* The ſtile of White Friars was that of ſharpers, bullies, and other fugitives from the law. This precinct in 1609 obtained from king James a charter of exemption from pariſh, ward, and city offices, except in the militia: being poſſeſſed thereof, the inhabitants claimed afterwards a power and right to protect the perſons of debtors, whereby the place became filled with lawleſs refugees of all ſorts, who grew to ſuch a height of wickedneſs and impudence, that it was found neceſſary in king William's time by act of parliament to ſuppreſs and bring them to juſtice.

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uſing old thread-bare phraſes, which will often make you go out of your way to find and apply them, are nauſeous to rational hearers, and will ſeldom expreſs your meaning, as well as your own natural words.

Although, as I have already obſerved, our Engliſh tongue is too little cultivated in this kingdom, yet the faults are nine in ten owing to affectation, and not to the want of underſtanding. When a man's thoughts are clear, the propereſt words will generally offer themſelves firſt, and his own judgment will direct him in what order to place them, ſo as they may be beſt underſtood. Where men err againſt this method, it is uſually on purpoſe, and to ſhew their learning, their oratory, their politeneſs, or their knowledge of the world. In ſhort, that ſimplicity, without which no human performance can arrive to any great perfection, is no where more eminently uſeful, than in this.

I have been conſidering that part of oratory, which relates to the moving of the paſſions: this I obſerve is in eſteem and practice among ſome church-divines, as well as among all the preachers and hearers of the fanatick or enthuſiaſtick ſtrain. I will here deliver to you (perhaps with more freedom than prudence) my opinion upon the point.

The two great orators of Greece and Rome, Demoſthenes and Cicero, though each of them a leader (or as the Greeks called it, a demagogue) in a popular ſtate, yet ſeem to differ in their practice upon this branch of their art: the former, who had to deal with a people of much more politeneſs,

neſs, learning, and wit, laid the greateſt weight of his oratory upon the ſtrength of his arguments, offered to their underſtanding and reaſon: whereas Tully conſidered the diſpoſitions of a ſincere, more ignorant, and leſs mercurial nation, by dwelling almoſt entirely on the pathetick part.

But the principal thing to be remembered is, that the conſtant deſign of both theſe orators, in all their ſpeeches, was, to drive ſome one particular point; either the condemnation or acquittal of an accuſed perſon, a perſuaſive to war, the enforcing of a law, and the like: which was determined upon the ſpot, according as the orators on either ſide prevailed. And here it was often found of abſolute neceſſity to inflame or cool the paſſions of the audience; eſpecially at Rome, where Tully ſpoke, and with whoſe writings young divines (I mean thoſe among them who read old authors) are more converſant than with thoſe of Demoſthenes; who by many degrees excelled the other, at leaſt as an orator. But I do not ſee how this talent of moving the paſſions, can be of any great uſe towards directing Chriſtian men in the conduct of their lives; at leaſt in theſe northern climates, where I am confident the ſtrongeſt eloquence of that kind, will leave few impreſſions upon any of our ſpirits, deep enough to laſt till the next morning, or rather, to the next meal.

But what has chiefly put me out of conceit with this moving manner of preaching, is the frequent diſappointment it meets with. I know a gentleman, who made it a rule in reading, to ſkip over all ſen-

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tences where he ſpied a note of admiration at the end. I believe thoſe preachers, who abound in epiphonemas *, if they look about them, would find one part of their congregation out of countenance, and the other aſleep; except perhaps an old female beggar or two in the iſles, who (if they be ſincere) may probably groan at the ſound.

Nor is it a wonder, that this expedient ſhould ſo often miſcarry, which requires ſo much art and genius to arrive at any perfection in it; as every man will find, much ſooner than learn, by conſulting Cicero himſelf.

I therefore entreat you to make uſe of this faculty (if you ever be ſo unfortunate as to think you have it) as ſeldom, and with as much caution as you can, elſe I may probably have occaſion to ſay of you, as a great perſon ſaid of another upon this very ſubject. A lady aſked him, coming out of church, whether it were not a very moving diſcourſe? "Yes, ſays he, I was extremely ſorry, for "the man is my friend."

If in company you offer ſomething for a jeſt, and nobody ſeconds you in your own laughter, or ſeems to reliſh what you ſaid, you may condemn their taſte, if you pleaſe, and appeal to better judgments; but in the mean time, it muſt be agreed, you make a very indifferent figure: and it is, at leaſt, equally ridiculous to be diſappointed in endeavouring to make other folks grieve, as to make them laugh.

* Epiphonema is a figure in rhetorick, ſignifying a ſententious kind of exclamation.

A plain convincing reaſon may poſſibly operate upon the mind, both of a learned and ignorant hearer, as long as they live, and will edify a thouſand times more than the art of wetting the handkerchiefs of a whole congregation, if you were ſure to attain it.

If your arguments be ſtrong, in God's name offer them in as moving a manner as the nature of the ſubject will properly admit, wherein reaſon and good advice will be your ſafeſt guides; but beware of letting the pathetick part ſwallow up the rational: for I ſuppoſe philoſophers have long agreed, that paſſion ſhould never prevail over reaſon.

As I take it, the two principal branches of preaching are, firſt to tell the people what is their duty, and then to convince them that it is ſo. The topicks for both theſe, we know, are brought from ſcripture and reaſon. Upon the former, I wiſh it were often practiſed to inſtruct the hearers in the limits, extent, and compaſs of every duty; which requires a good deal of ſkill and judgment: the other branch is, I think, not ſo difficult. But what I would offer upon both, is this, that it ſeems to be in the power of a reaſonable clergyman, if he will be at the pains, to make the moſt ignorant man comprehend what is his duty, and to convince him by arguments drawn to the level of his underſtanding, that he ought to perform it.

But I muſt remember that my deſign in this paper, was not ſo much to inſtruct you in your buſineſs, either as a clergyman, or a preacher, as to warn you againſt ſome miſtakes, which are obvious

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to the generality of mankind, as well as me; and we, who are hearers, may be allowed to have ſome opportunities in the quality of being ſtanders-by. Only, perhaps, I may now again tranſgreſs, by deſiring you to expreſs the heads of your diviſions in as few and clear words as you poſſibly can; otherwiſe, I, and many thouſand others, will never be able to retain them, nor conſequently to carry away a ſyllable of the ſermon.

I ſhall now mention a particular, wherein your whole body will be certainly againſt me, and the laity, almoſt to a man, on my ſide. However it came about, I cannot get over the prejudice of taking ſome little offence at the clergy for perpetually reading their ſermons; perhaps my frequent hearing of foreigners, who never make uſe of notes, may have added to my diſguſt. And I cannot but think, that whatever is read, differs as much from what is repeated without book, as a copy does from an original. At the ſame time I am highly ſenſible, what an extreme difficulty it would be upon you to alter this method; and that, in ſuch a caſe, your ſermons would be much leſs valuable than they are, for want of time to improve and correct them. I would therefore gladly come to a compromiſe with you in this matter. I knew a clergyman of ſome diſtinction, who appeared to deliver his ſermon without looking into his notes, which when I complimented him upon, he aſſured me, he could not repeat ſix lines; but his method was to write the whole ſermon in a large plain hand, with all the forms of margin, paragraph, marked page, and

the like; then on Sunday morning he took care to run it over five or ſix times, which he could do in an hour; and when he delivered it, by pretending to turn his face from one ſide to the other, he would (in his own expreſſion) pick up the lines, and cheat his people by making them believe he had it all by heart. He farther added, that whenever he happened by neglect to omit any of theſe circumſtances, the vogue of the pariſh was, "our "doctor gave us but an indifferent ſermon to-day." Now among us, many clergymen act ſo directly contrary to this method, that from a habit of ſaving time and paper, which they acquired at the univerſity, they write in ſo diminutive a manner, with ſuch frequent blots and interlineations, that they are hardly able to go on without perpetual heſitations, or extemporary expletives: and I deſire to know, what can be more inexcuſable, than to ſee a divine and a ſcholar at a loſs in reading his own compoſitions, which it is ſuppoſed he has been preparing with much pains and thought, for the inſtruction of his people. The want of a little more care in this article is the cauſe of much ungraceful behaviour. You will obſerve ſome clergymen with their heads held down from the beginning to the end, within an inch of the cuſhion, to read what is hardly legible: which, beſide the untoward manner, hinders them from making the beſt advantage of their voice: others again have a trick of popping up and down every moment from their paper, to the audience, like an idle ſchool-boy on a repetition-day.

Let me intreat you therefore to add one half crown a year to the article of paper; to tranſcribe your ſermons in as large and plain a manner as you can; and either make no interlineations, or change the whole leaf; for we, your hearers, would rather you ſhould be leſs correct, than perpetually ſtammering, which I take to be one of the worſt ſoleciſms in rhetorick. And laſtly, read your ſermon once or twice a day, for a few days before you preach it: to which you will probably anſwer ſome years hence, "that it was but juſt finiſhed, "when the laſt bell rang to church:" and I ſhall readily believe, but not excuſe you.

I cannot forbear warning you, in the moſt earneſt manner, againſt endeavouring at wit in your ſermons, becauſe, by the ſtricteſt computation, it is very near a million to one that you have none; and becauſe too many of your calling have conſequently made themſelves everlaſtingly ridiculous by attempting it. I remember ſeveral young men in this town, who could never leave the pulpit under half a dozen conceits; and this faculty adhered to thoſe gentlemen a longer or ſhorter time, exactly in proportion to their ſeveral degrees of dulneſs: accordingly, I am told that ſome of them retain it to this day. I heartily wiſh the brood were at an end.

Before you enter into the common unſufferable cant, of taking all occaſions to diſparage the heathen philoſophers, I hope you will differ from ſome of your brethren, by firſt enquiring what thoſe philoſophers can ſay for themſelves. The ſyſtem

of morality to be gathered out of the writings or ſayings of thoſe ancient ſages, falls undoubtedly very ſhort of that delivered in the goſpel, and wants, beſides, the divine ſanction which our Saviour gave to his. Whatever is farther related by the evangeliſts, contains chiefly matters of fact, and conſequently of faith; ſuch as the birth of Chriſt, his being the Meſſiah, his miracles, his death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion: none of which can properly come under the appellation of human wiſdom, being intended only to make us wiſe unto ſalvation. And therefore in this point, nothing can be juſtly laid to the charge of the philoſophers, farther than that they were ignorant of certain facts, which happened long after their death. But I am deceived, if a better comment could be any where collected upon the moral part of the goſpel, than from the writings of thoſe excellent men; even that divine precept of loving our enemies, is at large inſiſted on by Plato, who puts it, as I remember, into the mouth of Socrates. And as to the reproach of heatheniſm, I doubt they had leſs of it than the corrupted Jews, in whoſe time they lived. For it is a groſs piece of ignorance among us, to conceive, that in thoſe polite and learned ages, even perſons of any tolerable education, much leſs the wiſeſt philoſophers, did acknowledge or worſhip any more than one almighty power, under ſeveral denominations, to whom they allowed all thoſe attributes we aſcribe to the divinity: and as I take it, human comprehenſion reaches no farther; neither did our Saviour think it neceſſary to explain to us the

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nature of God, becauſe, as I ſuppoſe, it would be impoſſible, without beſtowing on us other faculties than we poſſeſs at preſent. But the true miſery of the heathen world appears to be, what I before mentioned, the want of a divine ſanction, without which the dictates of the philoſophers failed in the point of authority; and conſequently the bulk of mankind lay indeed under a great load of ignorance, even in the article of morality; but the philoſophers themſelves did not. Take the matter in this light, and it will afford field enough for a divine to enlarge on, by ſhewing the advantages which the Chriſtian world has over the heathen, and the abſolute neceſſity of divine revelation, to make the knowledge of the true God, and the practice of virtue, more univerſal in the world.

I am not ignorant how much I differ in this opinion from ſome ancient fathers in the church, who, arguing againſt the heathens, made it a principal topick to decry their philoſophy as much as they could: which, I hope, is not altogether our preſent caſe. Beſides, it is to be conſidered, that thoſe fathers lived in the decline of literature; and in my judgment (who ſhould be unwilling to give the leaſt offence) appear to be rather moſt excellent holy perſons, than of tranſcendent genius and learning. Their genuine writings (for many of them have extremely ſuffered by ſpurious additions) are of admirable uſe for confirming the truth of ancient doctrines and diſcipline, by ſhewing the ſtate and practice of the primitive church. But among

ſuch of them, as have fallen in my way, I do not remember any, whoſe manner of arguing or exhorting I could heartily recommend to the imitation of a young divine, when he is to ſpeak from the pulpit. Perhaps I judge too haſtily; there being ſeveral of them, in whoſe writings I have made very little progreſs, and in others none at all. For I peruſed only ſuch as were recommended to me, at a time when I had more leiſure, and a better diſpoſition to read, than have ſince fallen to my ſhare.

To return then to the heathen philoſophers: I hope you will not only give them quarter, but make their works a conſiderable part of your ſtudy. To theſe I will venture to add the principal orators and hiſtorians, and perhaps a few of the poets: by the reading of which, you will ſoon diſcover your mind and thoughts to be enlarged, your imagination extended and refined, your judgment directed, your admiration leſſened, and your fortitude increaſed: all which advantages muſt needs be of excellent uſe to a divine, whoſe duty it is to preach and practiſe the contempt of human things.

I would ſay ſomething concerning quotations, wherein I think you cannot be too ſparing, except from ſcripture, and the primitive writers of the church. As to the former, when you offer a text as a proof or an illuſtration, we your hearers expect to be fairly uſed, and ſometimes think we have reaſon to complain, eſpecially of you younger divines; which makes us fear, that ſome of you conceive

conceive you have no more to do than to turn over a concordance, and there having found the principal word, introduce as much of the verſe, as will ſerve your turn, though in reality it makes nothing for you. I do not altogether diſapprove the manner of interweaving texts of ſcripture through the ſtyle of your ſermon, wherein however I have ſometimes obſerved great inſtances of indiſcretion and impropriety, againſt which I therefore venture to give you a caution.

As to quotations from ancient fathers, I think they are beſt brought in to confirm ſome opinion controverted by thoſe who differ from us: In other caſes, we give you full power to adopt the ſentence for your own, rather than tell us, as St. Auſtin excellently obſerves. But to mention modern writers by name, or uſe the phraſe of a late excellent prelate of our church, and the like, is altogether intolerable, and for what reaſon I know not, makes every rational hearer aſhamed. Of no better a ſtamp is your heathen philoſopher, and famous poet, and Roman hiſtorian, at leaſt in common congregations, who will rather believe you on your own word, than on that of Plato or Homer.

I have lived to ſee Greek and Latin almoſt entirely driven out of the pulpit, for which I am heartily glad. The frequent uſe of the latter was certainly a remnant of popery, which never admitted ſcripture in the vulgar language; and I wonder that practice was never accordingly objected to us by the fanaticks.

The mention of quotations puts me in mind of common-place books, which have been long in uſe by induſtrious young divines, and, I hear, do ſtill continue ſo: I know they are very beneficial to lawyers and phyſicians, becauſe they are collections of facts or caſes, whereupon a great part of their ſeveral faculties depend; of theſe I have ſeen ſeveral, but never yet any written by a clergyman; only from what I am informed, they generally are extracts of theological and moral ſentences, drawn from eccleſiaſtical and other authors, reduced under proper heads, uſually begun, and perhaps finiſhed, while the collectors were young in the church, as being intended for materials, or nurſeries to ſtock future ſermons. You will obſerve the wiſe editors of ancient authors, when they meet a ſentence worthy of being diſtinguiſhed, take ſpecial care to have the firſt word printed in capital letters, that you may not overlook it: ſuch, for example, as the inconſtancy of fortune, the goodneſs of peace, the excellency of wiſdom, the certainty of death; that proſperity makes men inſolent, and adverſity humble; and the like eternal truths, which every ploughman knows well enough, though he never heard of Ariſtotle or Plato. If theological common-place books be no better filled, I think they had better be laid aſide; and I could wiſh, that men of tolerable intellectuals would rather truſt their own natural reaſon, improved by a general converſation with books, to enlarge on a point, which they are ſuppoſed already to underſtand. If a rational man reads an excellent author with juſt

application

application, he ſhall find himſelf extremely improved, and perhaps inſenſibly led to imitate that author's perfections, although in a little time he ſhould not remember one word in the book, nor even the ſubject it handled: for, books give the ſame turn to our thoughts and way of reaſoning, that good and ill company does to our behaviour and converſation; without either loading our memories, or making us even ſenſible of the change. And particularly I have obſerved in preaching, that no men ſucceed better, than thoſe who truſt entirely to the ſtock or fund of their own reaſon, advanced indeed, but not overlaid by commerce with books. Whoever only reads in order to tranſcribe wiſe and ſhining remarks, without entering into the genius and ſpirit of the author, as it is probable he will make no very judicious extract, ſo he will be apt to truſt to that collection in all his compoſitions, and be miſled out of the regular way of thinking, in order to introduce thoſe materials, which he has been at the pains to gather: and the product of all this, will be found a manifeſt incoherent piece of patch-work.

Some gentlemen, abounding in their univerſity erudition, are apt to fill their ſermons with philoſophical terms, and notions of the metaphyſical or abſtracted kind; which generally have one advantage, to be equally underſtood by the wiſe, the vulgar, and the preacher himſelf. I have been better entertained, and more informed by a few pages in the Pilgrim's Progreſs, than by a long diſcourſe upon the will and the intellect, and ſimple

or complex ideas. Others again are fond of dilating on matter and motion, talk of the fortuitous concourſe of atoms, of theories, and phænomena; directly againſt the advice of St. Paul, who yet appears to have been converſant enough in thoſe kinds of ſtudies.

I do not find, that you are any where directed in the canons or articles, to attempt explaining the myſteries of the chriſtian religion. And indeed, ſince Providence intended there ſhould be myſteries, I do not ſee how it can be agreeable to piety, orthodoxy, or good ſenſe, to go about ſuch a work. For, to me, there ſeems to be a manifeſt dilemma in the caſe: if you explain them, they are myſteries no longer; if you fail, you have laboured to no purpoſe. What I ſhould think moſt reaſonable and ſafe for you to do upon this occaſion, is, upon ſolemn days to deliver the doctrine, as the church holds it; and confirm it by ſcripture. For my part, having conſidered the matter impartially, I can ſee no great reaſon, which thoſe gentlemen, you call the free-thinkers, can have for their clamour againſt religious myſteries; ſince it is plain, they were not invented by the clergy, to whom they bring no profit, nor acquire any honour. For every clergyman is ready, either to tell us the utmoſt he knows, or to confeſs that he does not underſtand them; neither is it ſtrange, that there ſhould be myſteries in divinity, as well as in the commoneſt operations of nature.

And here I am at a loſs, what to ſay upon the frequent cuſtom of preaching againſt atheiſm, deiſm, free-

free-thinking, and the like, as young divines are particularly fond of doing, eſpecially when they exerciſe their talent in churches frequented by perſons of quality; which, as it is but an ill compliment to the audience, ſo I am under ſome doubt whether it anſwers the end.

Becauſe, perſons under thoſe imputations are generally no great frequenters of churches, and ſo the congregation is but little edified for the ſake of three or four fools, who are paſt grace: neither do I think it any part of prudence to perplex the minds of well-diſpoſed people with doubts, which probably would never have otherwiſe come into their heads. But I am of opinion, and dare be poſitive in it, that not one in a hundred of thoſe, who pretend to be free-thinkers, are really ſo in their hearts. For there is one obſervation, which I never knew to fail, and I deſire you will examine it in the courſe of your life; that no gentleman of a liberal education, and regular in his morals, did ever profeſs himſelf a free-thinker: where then are theſe kind of people to be found? among the worſt part of the ſoldiery, made up of pages, younger brothers of obſcure families, and others of deſperate fortunes: or elſe among idle town-fops, and now and then a drunken 'ſquire of the country. Therefore, nothing can be plainer, than that ignorance and vice are two ingredients abſolutely neceſſary in the compoſition of thoſe you generally call free-thinkers, who, in propriety of ſpeech, are no thinkers at all. And ſince I am in the way of it, pray conſider one thing farther: as young as

you

you are, you cannot but have already obſerved, what a violent run there is among too many weak people againſt univerſity-education: be firmly aſſured, that the whole cry is made up by thoſe, who were either never ſent to a college, or, through their irregularities and ſtupidity, never made the leaſt improvement, while they were there. I have above forty of the latter ſort now in my eye; ſeveral of them in this town, whoſe learning, manners, temperance, probity, good-nature, and politicks, are all of a piece: others of them in the country, oppreſſing their tenants, tyrannizing over the neighbourhood, cheating the vicar, talking nonſenſe, and getting drunk at the ſeſſions. It is from ſuch ſeminaries as theſe, that the world is provided with the ſeveral tribes and denominations of free-thinkers; who, in my judgment, are not to be reformed by arguments offered to prove the truth of the chriſtian religion, becauſe reaſoning will never make a man correct an ill opinion, which by reaſoning he never acquired: for, in the courſe of things, men always grow vicious, before they become unbelievers; but if you would once convince the town or country profligate, by topicks drawn from the view of their own quiet, reputation, health, and advantage, their infidelity would ſoon drop off: this, I confeſs, is no eaſy taſk, becauſe it is, almoſt in a literal ſenſe, to fight with beaſts. Now, to make it clear, that we are to look for no other original of this infidelity, whereof divines ſo much complain, it is allowed on all hands, that the people of England are more corrupt in their morals,

rals, than any other nation at this day under the ſun: and this corruption is manifeſtly owing to other cauſes, both numerous and obvious, much more than to the publication of irreligious books, which indeed are but the conſequence of the former. For all the writers againſt chriſtianity, ſince the revolution, have been of the loweſt rank among men in regard to literature, wit, and good ſenſe, and upon that account wholly unqualified to propagate hereſies, unleſs among a people already abandoned.

In an age, where every thing diſliked by thoſe, who think with the majority, is called diſaffection, it may perhaps be ill interpreted, when I venture to tell you, that this univerſal depravation of manners, is owing to the perpetual bandying of factions among us for thirty years paſſed, when, without weighing the motives of juſtice, law, conſcience, or honour, every man adjuſts his principles to thoſe of the party he has choſen, and among whom he may beſt find his own account; but by reaſon of our frequent viciſſitudes, men who were impatient of being out of play, have been forced to recant, or at leaſt to reconcile their former tenets, with every new ſyſtem of adminiſtration. Add to this, that the old fundamental cuſtom of annual parliaments being wholly laid aſide, and elections growing chargeable, ſince gentlemen found that their country-ſeats brought them in leſs than a ſeat in the houſe, the voters, that is to ſay, the bulk of the common people, have been univerſally ſeduced into

into bribery, perjury, drunkenneſs, malice, and ſlander.

Not to be farther tedious, or rather invidious, theſe are a few, among other cauſes, which have contributed to the ruin of our morals, and conſequently to the contempt of religion: for, imagine to yourſelf, if you pleaſe, a landed youth, whom his mother would never ſuffer to look into a book for fear of ſpoiling his eyes, got into parliament, and obſerving all enemies to the clergy heard with the utmoſt applauſe, what notions he muſt imbibe, how readily he will join in the cry, what an eſteem he will conceive of himſelf, and what a contempt he muſt entertain, not only for his vicar at home, but for the whole order.

I therefore again conclude, that the trade of infidelity has been taken up only for an expedient to keep in countenance that univerſal corruption of morals, which many other cauſes firſt contributed to introduce and to cultivate. And thus Mr. Hobbs's ſaying upon reaſon may be much more properly applied to religion: that, if religion will be againſt a man, a man will be againſt religion. Though after all, I have heard a profligate offer much ſtronger arguments againſt paying his debts, than ever he was known to do againſt chriſtianity; indeed the reaſon was, becauſe in that juncture he happened to be cloſer preſſed by the bailiff, than the parſon.

Ignorance may perhaps be the mother of ſuperſtition, but experience has not proved it to be ſo of devotion; for chriſtianity always made the moſt

eaſy

eaſy and quickeſt progreſs in civilized countries. I mention this, becauſe it is affirmed, that the clergy are in moſt credit where ignorance prevails, (and ſurely this kingdom would be called the paradiſe of clergymen, if that opinion were true) for which they inſtance England in the times of popery. But, whoever knows any thing of three or four centuries before the reformation, will find the little learning then ſtirring was more equally divided between the Engliſh clergy and laity, than it is at preſent. There were ſeveral famous lawyers in that period, whoſe writings are ſtill in the higheſt repute, and ſome hiſtorians and poets, who were not of the church. Whereas now-adays our education is ſo corrupted, that you will hardly find a young perſon of quality with the leaſt tincture of knowledge, at the ſame time that many of the clergy were never more learned, or ſo ſcurvily treated. Here among us at leaſt, a man of letters, out of the three profeſſions, is almoſt a prodigy. And thoſe few, who have preſerved any rudiments of learning, are (except perhaps one or two ſmatterers) the clergy's friends to a man: and I dare appeal to any clergyman in this kingdom, whether the greateſt dunce in his pariſh, be not always the moſt proud, wicked, fraudulent, and intractable of his flock.

I think the clergy have almoſt given over perplexing themſelves and their hearers, with abſtruſe points of predeſtination, election, and the like; at leaſt, it is time they ſhould; and therefore I ſhall not trouble you farther upon this head.

I have now ſaid all I could think convenient with relation to your conduct in the pulpit: your behaviour in the world, is another ſcene, upon which I ſhall readily offer you my thoughts, if you appear to deſire them from me by your approbation of what I have here written; if not, I have already troubled you too much.

I am, SIR,

Your affectionate

Friend and Servant.

AN ESSAY ON THE FATES OF CLERGYMEN.

THERE is no talent ſo uſeful towards riſing in the world, or which puts men more out of the reach of fortune, than that quality generally poſſeſſed by the dulleſt ſort of men, and in common ſpeech called diſcretion; a ſpecies of lower prudence, by the aſſiſtance of which, people of the meaneſt intellectuals, without any other qualification, paſs through the world in great tranquility, and with univerſal good treatment, neither giving nor taking offence. Courts are ſeldom unprovided of perſons under this character, on whom, if they happen to be of great quality, moſt employments, even the greateſt, naturally fall, when competitors will not agree; and in ſuch promotions nobody rejoices or grieves. The truth of this I could prove by ſeveral inſtances within my own memory; for I ſay nothing of preſent times.

And indeed, as regularity and forms are of great uſe in carrying on the buſineſs of the world, ſo it is very convenient, that perſons endued with this kind of diſcretion, ſhould have that ſhare which is proper to their talents, in the conduct of affairs,

but by no means meddle in matters which require genius, learning, ſtrong comprehenſion, quickneſs of conception, magnanimity, generoſity, ſagacity, or any other ſuperior gift of human minds. Becauſe this ſort of diſcretion is uſually attended with a ſtrong deſire of money, and few ſcruples about the way of obtaining it; with ſervile flattery and ſubmiſſion; with a want of all publick ſpirit or principle; with a perpetual wrong judgment, when the owners come into power and high place, how to diſpoſe of favour and preferment; having no meaſure for merit and virtue in others, but thoſe very ſteps, by which themſelves aſcended; nor the leaſt intention of doing good or hurt to the publick, farther than * either one or t'other is likely to be ſubſervient to their own ſecurity or intereſt. Thus being void of all friendſhip and enmity, they never complain or find fault with the times, and indeed never have reaſon to do ſo.

Men of eminent parts and abilities, as well as virtues, do ſometimes riſe in the court, ſometimes in the law, and ſometimes even in the church. Such were the Lord Bacon, the Earl of Strafford, Archbiſhop Laud in the reign of King Charles I. and others in our own times, whom I ſhall not name; but theſe, and many more, under different princes, and in different kingdoms, were diſgraced or baniſhed, or ſuffered death, merely in envy to their virtues and ſuperior genius, which emboldened

* This mode of expreſſion is ungrammatical and vulgar: it ſhould be—'farther than *as* either *the* one or *the* other is likely, &c.'

them

them in great exigencies and diſtreſſes of ſtate (wanting a reaſonable infuſion of this aldermanly diſcretion) to attempt the ſervice of their prince and country, out of the common forms.

This evil fortune, which generally attends extraordinary men in the management of great affairs, has been imputed to divers cauſes, that need not be here ſet down, when ſo obvious a one occurs, if what a certain writer obſerves be true, that when a great genius appears in the world, the dunces are all in confederacy againſt him. And if this be his fate, when he employs his talents wholly in his cloſet, without interfering with any man's ambition or avarice; what muſt he expect, when he ventures out to ſeek for preferment in a court, but univerſal oppoſition, when he is mounting the ladder, and every hand ready to turn him off, when he is at the top? and in this point, fortune generally acts directly contrary to nature; for, in nature we find, that bodies full of life and ſpirit mount eaſily, and are hard to fall, whereas heavy bodies are hard to riſe, and come down with greater velocity, in proportion to their weight; but we find fortune every day acting juſt the reverſe of this.

This talent of diſcretion, as I have deſcribed it in its ſeveral adjuncts and circumſtances, is no where ſo ſerviceable as to the clergy, to whoſe preferment nothing is ſo fatal as the character of wit, politeneſs in reading or manners, or that kind of behaviour, which we contract by having too much converſed with perſons of high ſtation and emi-

nency; theſe qualifications being reckoned by the vulgar of all ranks, to be marks of levity, which is the laſt crime the world will pardon in a clergyman: to this I may add a free manner of ſpeaking in mixt company, and too frequent an appearance in places of much reſort, which are equally noxious to ſpiritual promotion.

I have known indeed a few exceptions to ſome parts of theſe obſervations. I have ſeen ſome of the dulleſt men alive aiming at wit, and others, with as little pretenſions, affecting politeneſs in manners and diſcourſe; but never being able to perſuade the world of their guilt, they grew into conſiderable ſtations, upon the firm aſſurance, which all people had of their diſcretion, becauſe they were a ſize too low to deceive the world to their own diſadvantage. But this I confeſs is a trial too dangerous often to engage in.

There is a known ſtory of a clergyman, who was recommended for a preferment by ſome great men at court to an archbiſhop. His grace ſaid, he had heard that the clergyman uſed to play at whiſt and ſwobbers; that as to playing now and then a ſober game at whiſt for paſtime, it might be pardoned; but he could not digeſt thoſe wicked ſwobbers; and it was with ſome pains that my Lord Somers could undeceive him. I aſk, by what talents we may ſuppoſe that great prelate aſcended ſo high, or what ſort of qualifications he would expect in thoſe, whom he took into his patronage, or would probably recommend to court for the government of diſtant churches?

Two

Two clergymen, in my memory, ſtood candidates for a ſmall free-ſchool in Yorkſhire, where a gentleman of quality and intereſt in the country, who happened to have a better underſtanding than his neighbours, procured the place for him, who was the better ſcholar, and more gentlemanly perſon of the two, very much to the regret of all the pariſh: the other, being diſappointed, came up to London, where he became the greateſt pattern of this lower diſcretion, that I have known, and poſſeſſed it with as heavy intellectuals; which, together with the coldneſs of his temper, and gravity of his deportment, carried him ſafe through many difficulties, and he lived and died in a great ſtation; while his competitor is too obſcure for fame to tell us what became of him.

This ſpecies of diſcretion, which I ſo much celebrate, and do moſt heartily recommend, has one advantage not yet mentioned; it will carry a man ſafe through all the malice and variety of parties, ſo far, that whatever faction happens to be uppermoſt, his claim is uſually allowed for a ſhare of what is going. And the thing ſeems to me highly reaſonable: for in all great changes, the prevailing ſide is uſually ſo tempeſtuous, that it wants the ballaſt of thoſe, whom the world calls moderate men, and I call men of diſcretion; whom people in power may, with little ceremony, load as * heavy as they pleaſe, drive them through the hardeſt and deepeſt

* The adjective here is uſed improperly for the adverb: it ſhould be—'as heavily as they pleaſe.'

roads without danger of foundering, or breaking their backs, and will be ſure to find them neither reſty nor vicious.

I will here give the reader a ſhort hiſtory of two clergymen in England, the characters of each, and the progreſs of their fortunes in the world; by which the force of worldly diſcretion, and the bad conſequences from the want of that virtue, will ſtrongly appear.

Coruſodes, an Oxford ſtudent, and a farmer's ſon, was never abſent from prayers or lecture, nor once out of his college after Tom had tolled. He ſpent every day ten hours in his cloſet, in reading his courſes, dozing, clipping papers, or darning his ſtockings; which laſt he performed to admiration. He could be ſoberly drunk, at the expence of others, with college ale, and at thoſe ſeaſons was always moſt devout. He wore the ſame gown five years without dragling or tearing. He never once looked into a play-book or a poem. He read Virgil and Ramus in the ſame cadence, but with a very different taſte. He never underſtood a jeſt, or had the leaſt conception of wit.

For one ſaying he ſtands in renown to this day. Being with ſome other ſtudents over a pot of ale, one of the company ſaid ſo many pleaſant things, that the reſt were much diverted, only Coruſodes was ſilent and unmoved. When they parted, he called this merry companion aſide, and ſaid, "Sir, "I perceive by your often ſpeaking, and our "friends laughing, that you ſpoke many jeſts; and "you could not but obſerve my ſilence: but, Sir,

"this

" this is my humour; I never make a jeſt myſelf,
" nor ever laugh at another man's."

Coruſodes thus endowed got into holy orders; having, by the moſt extreme parſimony, ſaved thirty-four pounds out of a very beggarly fellowſhip, he went up to London, where his ſiſter was waiting-woman to a lady, and ſo good a ſollicitor, that by her means he was admitted to read prayers in the family twice a day, at ten ſhillings a month. He had now acquired a low, obſequious, aukward bow, and a talent of groſs flattery both in and out of ſeaſon; he would ſhake the butler by the hand; he taught the page his catechiſm, and was ſometimes admitted to dine at the ſteward's table. In ſhort, he got the good word of the whole family, and was recommended by my lady for chaplain to ſome other noble houſes, by which his revenue (beſide vails) amounted to about thirty pounds a year: his ſiſter procured him a ſcarf from my lord, who had a ſmall deſign of gallantry upon her; and by his lordſhip's ſollicitation he got a lectureſhip in town of ſixty pounds a year; where he preached conſtantly in perſon, in a grave manner, with an audible voice, a ſtyle eccleſiaſtick, and the matter (ſuch as it was) well ſuited to the intellectuals of his hearers. Some time after, a country living fell in my lord's diſpoſal, and his lordſhip, who had now ſome encouragement given him of ſucceſs in his amour, beſtowed the living on Coruſodes, who ſtill kept his lectureſhip and reſidence in town; where he was a conſtant attendant at all meetings relating to charity, without ever contributing far-

ther

ther than his frequent pious exhortations. If any women of better faſhion in the pariſh happened to be abſent from church, they were ſure of a viſit from him in a day or two, to chide and to dine with them.

He had a ſelect number of poor conſtantly attending at the ſtreet door of his lodging, for whom he was a common ſollicitor to his former patroneſs, dropping in his own half crown among the collections, and taking it out when he diſpoſed of the money. At a perſon of quality's houſe, he would never ſit down, till he was thrice bid, and then upon the corner of the moſt diſtant chair. His whole demeanor was formal and ſtarch, which adhered ſo * cloſe, that he could never ſhake it off in his higheſt promotion.

His lord was now in high employment at court, and attended by him with the moſt abject aſſiduity; and his ſiſter being gone off with child to a private lodging, my lord continued his graces to Coruſodes, got him to be a chaplain in ordinary, and in due time a pariſh in town, and a dignity in the church.

He paid his curates punctually, at the loweſt ſalary, and partly out of the communion-money; but gave them good advice in abundance. He married a citizen's widow, who taught him to put out ſmall ſums at ten *per cent.* and brought him acquainted with jobbers in Change-alley. By her dexterity he ſold the clerkſhip of his pariſh, when it became vacant.

* It ſhould be *cloſely*.

He kept a miſerable houſe, but the whole blame was laid wholly upon madam; for the good doctor was always at his books, or viſiting the ſick, or doing other offices of charity and piety in his pariſh.

He treated all his inferiors of the clergy, with a moſt ſanctified pride; was rigorouſly and univerſally cenſorious upon all his brethren of the gown, on their firſt appearance in the world, or while they continued meanly preferred; but gave large allowance to the laity of high rank, or great riches, uſing neither eyes nor ears for their faults: he was never ſenſible of the leaſt corruption in courts, parliaments, or miniſtries, but made the moſt favourable conſtructions of all publick proceedings; and power, in whatever hands, or whatever party, was always ſecure of his moſt charitable opinion. He had many wholeſome maxims ready to excuſe all miſcarriages of ſtate; men are but men; *erunt vitia donec homines;* and *quod ſupra nos, nil ad nos*; with ſeveral others of equal weight.

It would lengthen my paper beyond meaſure to trace out the whole ſyſtem of his conduct; his dreadful apprehenſions of popery; his great moderation towards diſſenters of all denominations; with hearty wiſhes, that by yielding ſomewhat on both ſides, there might be a general union among proteſtants; his ſhort, inoffenſive ſermons in his turns at court, and the matter exactly ſuited to the preſent juncture of prevailing opinions; the arts he uſed to obtain a mitre, by writing againſt epiſcopacy; and the proofs he gave of his loyalty, by palliating

palliating or defending the murder of a martyred prince.

Endowed with all theſe accompliſhments, we leave him in the full career of ſucceſs, mounting faſt towards the top of the ladder eccleſiaſtical, which he has a fair probability to reach; without the merit of one ſingle virtue, moderately ſtocked with the leaſt valuable parts of erudition, utterly devoid of all taſte, judgment, or genius; and in his grandeur, naturally chooſing to hawl up others after him, whoſe accompliſhments moſt reſemble his own, except his beloved ſons, nephews, or other kindred, be in competition; or laſtly, except his inclinations be diverted by thoſe, who have power to mortify or farther advance him.

Eugenio ſet out from the ſame univerſity, and about the ſame time with Coruſodes; he had the reputation of an arch lad at ſchool, and was unfortunately poſſeſſed with a talent for poetry; on which account he received many chiding letters from his father, and grave advice from his tutor. He did not neglect his college learning, but his chief ſtudy was the authors of antiquity, with a perfect knowledge in the Greek and Roman tongues. He could never procure himſelf to be choſen fellow; for it was objected againſt him, that he had written verſes, and particularly ſome, wherein he glanced at a certain reverend doctor famous for dulneſs: that he had been ſeen bowing to ladies, as he met them in the ſtreets; and it was proved, that once he had been found dancing in a private family, with half a dozen of both ſexes.

He

He was the younger ſon to a gentleman of good birth, but ſmall eſtate; and his father dying, he was driven to London to ſeek his fortune: he got into orders, and became reader in a pariſh-church at twenty pounds a year, was carried by an Oxford friend to Will's coffee-houſe, frequented in thoſe days by men of wit, where in ſome time he had the bad luck to be diſtinguiſhed. His ſcanty ſalary compelled him to run deep in debt for a new gown and caſſock, and now and then forced him to write ſome paper of wit or humour, or preach a ſermon for ten ſhillings, to ſupply his neceſſities. He was a thouſand times recommended by his poetical friends to great perſons, as a young man of excellent parts, who deſerved encouragement, and received a thouſand promiſes; but his modeſty, and a generous ſpirit, which diſdained the ſlavery of continual application and attendance, always diſappointed him, making room for vigilant dunces, who were ſure to be never out of ſight.

He had an excellent faculty in preaching, if he were not ſometimes a little too refined, and apt to truſt too much to his own way of thinking and reaſoning.

When, upon the vacancy of preferment, he was hardly drawn to attend upon ſome promiſing lord, he received the uſual anſwer, that he came too late, for it had been given to another the very day before. And he had only this comfort left, that every body ſaid, it was a thouſand pities ſomething could not be done for poor Mr. Eugenio.

The remainder of his ſtory will be diſpatched in a few words: wearied with weak hopes, and weaker purſuits, he accepted a curacy in Derbyſhire of thirty pounds a year, and when he was five and forty, had the great felicity to be preferred by a friend of his father's to a vicarage worth annually ſixty pounds, in the moſt deſert parts of Lincolnſhire; where, his ſpirit quite ſunk with thoſe reflections that ſolitude and diſappointments bring, he married a farmer's widow, and is ſtill alive utterly undiſtinguiſhed and forgotten; only ſome of the neighbours have accidentally heard, that he had been a notable man in his youth.

AN

ESSAY

ON

MODERN EDUCATION.

FROM frequently reflecting upon the courſe and method of educating youth, in this and a neighbouring kingdom, with the general ſucceſs and conſequence thereof, I am come to this determination; that education is always the worſe, in proportion to the wealth and grandeur of the parents; nor do I doubt in the leaſt, that if the whole world were now under the dominion of one monarch (provided I might be allowed to chooſe where he ſhould fix the ſeat of his empire) the only ſon and heir of that monarch, would be the worſt educated mortal, that ever was born ſince the creation; and I doubt the ſame proportion will hold through all degrees and titles, from an emperor downwards to the common gentry.

I do not ſay, that this has been always the caſe; for in better times it was directly otherwiſe, and a ſcholar may fill half his Greek and Roman ſhelves with authors of the nobleſt birth, as well as higheſt virtue: nor do I tax all nations at preſent with this defect, for I know there are ſome to be excepted,

cepted, and particularly Scotland, under all the diſadvantages of its climate and ſoil, if that happineſs be not rather owing even to thoſe very diſadvantages. What is then to be done, if this reflection muſt fix on two countries, which will be moſt ready to take offence, and which, of all others, it will be leaſt prudent or ſafe to offend?

But there is one circumſtance yet more dangerous and lamentable: for if, according to the *poſtulatum* already laid down, the higher quality any youth is of, he is in greater likelihood to be worſe educated; it behoves me to dread, and keep far from the verge of *ſcandalum magnatum*.

Retracting therefore that hazardous *poſtulatum*, I ſhall venture no farther at preſent than to ſay, that perhaps ſome additional care in educating the ſons of nobility, and principal gentry, might not be ill employed. If this be not delivered with ſoftneſs enough, I muſt for the future be ſilent.

In the mean time, let me aſk only two queſtions, which relate to England. I aſk firſt, how it comes about, that for above ſixty years paſt the chief conduct of affairs has been generally placed in the hands of new-men, with very few exceptions? The nobleſt blood of England having been ſhed in the grand rebellion, many great families became extinct, or were ſupported only by minors: when the king was reſtored, very few of thoſe lords remained, who began, or at leaſt had improved their education under the reigns of king James, or king Charles I. of which lords the two principal were the marquis of Ormond, and the earl

earl of Southampton. The minors had, during the rebellion and uſurpation, either received too much tincture of bad principles from thoſe fanatick times, or coming to age at the reſtoration, fell into the vices of that diſſolute reign.

I date from this æra the corrupt method of education among us, and in conſequence thereof, the neceſſity the crown lay under of introducing new men into the chief conduct of publick affairs, or to the office of what we now call prime miniſters; men of art, knowledge, application and inſinuation, merely for want of a ſupply among the nobility. They were generally (though not always) of good birth; ſometimes younger brothers, at other times ſuch, who although inheriting good eſtates, yet happened to be well educated, and provided with learning. Such, under that king, were Hyde, Bridgman, Clifford, Oſborn, Godolphin, Aſhley-Cooper: few or none under the ſhort reign of king James II.: under king William, Sommers, Montague, Churchil, Vernon, Boyle, and many others; under the queen, Harley, St. John, Harcourt, Trevor: who indeed were perſons of the beſt private families, but unadorned with titles. So in the following reign, Mr. Robert Walpole was for many years prime miniſter, in which poſt he ſtill happily continues: his brother Horace is ambaſſador extraordinary to France. Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Craggs, without the leaſt alliance to ſupport them, have been ſecretaries of ſtate.

If the facts have been thus for above ſixty years paſt, (whereof I could with a little farther recollection

produce many more inſtances) I would aſk again, how it has happened, that in a nation plentifully abounding with nobility, ſo great ſhare in the moſt competent parts of public management, has been for ſo long a period chiefly entruſted to commoners; unleſs ſome omiſſions or defects of the higheſt import may be charged upon thoſe, to whom the care of educating our noble youth had been committed? For, if there be any difference between human creatures in the point of natural parts, as we uſually call them, it ſhould ſeem, that the advantage lies on the ſide of children born from noble and wealthy parents; the ſame traditional ſloth and luxury, which render their body weak and effeminate, perhaps refining and giving a freer motion to the ſpirits, beyond what can be expected from the groſs, robuſt iſſue of meaner mortals. Add to this the peculiar advantages, which all young noblemen poſſeſs by the privileges of their birth. Such as a free acceſs to courts, and a univerſal deference paid to their perſons.

But as my lord Bacon charges it for a fault on princes, that they are impatient to compaſs ends, without giving themſelves the trouble of conſulting or executing the means; ſo perhaps it may be the diſpoſition of young nobles, either from the indulgence of parents, tutors and governors, or their own inactivity, that they expect the accompliſhments of a good education, without the leaſt expence of time or ſtudy to acquire them.

What I ſaid laſt, I am ready to retract, for the caſe is infinitely worſe; and the very maxims ſet up

up to direct modern education, are enough to destroy all the ſeeds of knowledge, honour, wiſdom, and virtue among us. The current opinion prevails, that the ſtudy of Greek and Latin is loſs of time; that publick ſchools, by mingling the ſons of noblemen with thoſe of the vulgar, engage the former in bad company; that whipping breaks the ſpirits of lads well born; that univerſities make young men pedants; that to dance, fence, ſpeak French, and know how to behave yourſelf among great perſons of both ſexes, comprehends the whole duty of a gentleman.

I cannot but think, this wiſe ſyſtem of education has been much cultivated among us, by thoſe worthies of the army, who during the laſt war returned from Flanders at the cloſe of each campaign, became the dictators of behaviour, dreſs, and politeneſs, to all thoſe youngſters, who frequent chocolate-coffee-gaming-houſes, drawing-rooms, operas, levees and aſſemblies: where a colonel, by his pay, perquiſites and plunder, was qualified to outſhine many peers of the realm; and by the influence of an exotick habit and demeanor, added to other foreign accompliſhments, gave the law to the whole town, and was copied as the ſtandard-pattern of whatever was refined in dreſs, equipage, converſation, or diverſions.

I remember, in thoſe times, an admired original of that vocation, ſitting in a coffee-houſe near two gentlemen, whereof one was of the clergy, who were engaged in ſome diſcourſe, that ſavoured of learning. This officer thought fit to interpoſe, and

profeſſing to deliver the ſentiments of his fraternity, as well as his own (and probably he did ſo of too many among them) turned to the clergyman, and ſpoke in the following manner, "D—n me, "Doctor, ſay what you will, the army is the only "ſchool for gentlemen. Do you think my lord "Marlborough beat the French with Greek and "Latin? D—n me, a ſcholar when he comes into "good company, what is he but an aſs? D—n "me, I would be glad by G—d to ſee any of "your ſcholars with his nouns, and his verbs, "and his philoſophy, and trigonometry, what a "figure he would make at a ſiege or blockade, or "rencountering——D—n me, &c." After which he proceeded with a volley of military terms, leſs ſignificant, ſounding worſe, and harder to be underſtood, than any that were ever coined by the commentators upon Ariſtotle. I would not here be thought to charge the ſoldiery with ignorance and contempt of learning, without allowing exceptions, of which I have known many; but however the worſt example, eſpecially in a great majority, will certainly prevail.

I have heard, that the late earl of Oxford, in the time of his miniſtry, never paſſed by White's chocolate-houſe (the common rendezvous of infamous ſharpers and noble cullies) without beſtowing a curſe upon that famous academy, as the bane of half the Engliſh nobility. I have likewiſe been told another paſſage concerning that great miniſter, which, becauſe it gave a humorous idea of one principal ingredient in modern education, take as

follows. Le Sack the famous French dancing-maſter, in great admiration, aſked a friend, whether it were true, that Mr. Harley was made an earl and lord treaſurer? and finding it confirmed, ſaid, "well; I wonder what the devil the queen "could ſee in him; for I attended him two years, "and he was the greateſt dunce that ever I "taught."

Another hindrance to good education, and I think the greateſt of any, is that pernicious cuſtom in rich and noble families, of entertaining French tutors in their houſes. Theſe wretched pedagogues are enjoined by the father, to take ſpecial care that the boy ſhall be perfect in his French; by the mother, that maſter muſt not walk till he is hot, nor be ſuffered to play with other boys, nor be wet in his feet, nor daub his cloaths, and to ſee the dancing-maſter attends conſtantly, and does his duty; ſhe farther inſiſts, that the child be not kept too long poring on his book, becauſe he is ſubject to ſore eyes, and of a weakly conſtitution.

By theſe methods, the young gentleman is, in every article, as fully accompliſhed at eight years old, as at eight and twenty, age adding only to the growth of his perſon and his vice; ſo that if you ſhould look at him in his boyhood through the magnifying end of a perſpective, and in his manhood through the other, it would be impoſſible to ſpy any difference; the ſame airs, the ſame ſtrut, the ſame cock of his hat, and poſture of his ſword, (as far as the change of faſhions will allow) the ſame underſtanding, the ſame compaſs of know-

ledge, with the very ſame abſurdity, impudence, and impertinence of tongue.

He is taught from the nurſery, that he muſt inherit a great eſtate, and has no need to mind his book, which is a leſſon he never forgets to the end of his life. His chief ſolace is to ſteal down and play at ſpan-farthing with the page, or young black-a-moor, or little favourite foot-boy, one of which is his principal confident and boſom-friend.

There is one young * lord in this town, who, by an unexampled piece of good fortune, was miraculouſly ſnatched out of the gulph of ignorance, confined to a publick ſchool for a due term of years, well whipped when he deſerved it, clad no better than his comrades, and always their play-fellow on the ſame foot, had no precedence in the ſchool, but what was given him by his merit, and loſt it whenever he was negligent. It is well known, how many mutinies were bred at this unprecedented treatment, what complaints among his relations, and other great ones of both ſexes; that his ſtockings with ſilver clocks were raviſhed from him; that he wore his own hair; that his dreſs was undiſtinguiſhed; that he was not fit to appear at a ball or aſſembly, nor ſuffered to go to either: and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that he became qualified for his preſent removal, where he may probably be farther perſecuted, and poſſibly with ſucceſs, if the firmneſs of a very worthy governor, and his own good diſpoſitions will not preſerve him. I confeſs, I cannot but wiſh, he may

* Lord Mount-Caſhel, bred at Dr. Sheridan's ſchool.

go

go on in the way he began; becauſe I have a curioſity to know by ſo ſingular an experiment, whether truth, honour, juſtice, temperance, courage, and good ſenſe, acquired by a ſchool and college education, may not produce a very tolerable lad, although he ſhould happen to fail in one or two of thoſe accompliſhments, which, in the general vogue, are held ſo important to the finiſhing of a gentleman.

It is true, I have known an academical education to have been exploded in publick aſſemblies; and have heard more than one or two perſons of high rank declare, they could learn nothing more at Oxford and Cambridge, than to drink ale and ſmoak tobacco; wherein I firmly believed them, and could have added ſome hundred examples from my own obſervation in one of thoſe univerſities; but they all were of young heirs ſent thither only for form; either from ſchools, where they were not ſuffered by their careful parents to ſtay above three months in the year; or from under the management of French family-tutors, who yet often attended them to their college, to prevent all poſſibility of their improvement: but I never yet knew any one perſon of quality, who followed his ſtudies at the univerſity, and carried away his juſt proportion of learning, that was not ready upon all occaſions to celebrate and defend that courſe of education, and to prove a patron of learned men.

There is one circumſtance in a learned education, which ought to have much weight, even with thoſe who have no learning at all. The books read at

ſchool and colleges are full of incitements to virtue, and diſcouragements from vice, drawn from the wiſeſt reaſons, the ſtrongeſt motives, and the moſt influencing examples. Thus young minds are filled early with an inclination to good, and an abhorrence of evil, both which encreaſe in them, according to the advances they make in literature; and although they may be, and too often are, drawn by the temptations of youth, and the opportunities of a large fortune, into ſome irregularities, when they come forward into the great world, yet it is ever with reluctance and compunction of mind; becauſe their bias to virtue ſtill continues. They may ſtray ſometimes, out of infirmity or compliance; but they will ſoon return to the right road, and keep it always in view. I ſpeak only of thoſe exceſſes, which are too much the attendants of youth and warmer blood; for as to the points of honour, truth, juſtice, and other noble gifts of the mind, wherein the temperature of the body has no concern, they are ſeldom or ever known to be wild.

I have engaged myſelf very unwarily in too copious a ſubject for ſo ſhort a paper. The preſent ſcope I would aim at, is, to prove that ſome proportion of human knowledge appears requiſite to thoſe, who by their birth or fortune are called to the making of laws, and in a ſubordinate way to the execution of them; and that ſuch knowledge is not to be obtained, without a miracle, under the frequent, corrupt, and ſottiſh methods of educating thoſe, who are born to wealth or titles. For

I would

I would have it remembered, that I do by no means confine theſe remarks to young perſons of noble birth; the ſame errors running through all families, where there is wealth enough to afford, that their ſons (at leaſt the eldeſt) may be good for nothing. Why ſhould my ſon be a ſcholar, when it is not intended that he ſhould live by his learning? By this rule, if what is commonly ſaid be true, that "money anſwers all things," why ſhould my ſon be honeſt, temperate, juſt, or charitable, ſince he has no intention to depend upon any of theſe qualities for a maintenance?

When all is done, perhaps, upon the whole, the matter is not ſo bad as I would make it; and God, who works good out of evil, acting only by the ordinary courſe and rule of nature, permits this continual circulation of human things, for his own unſearchable ends. The father grows rich by avarice, injuſtice, oppreſſion; he is a tyrant in the neighbourhood over ſlaves and beggars, whom he calls his tenants. Why ſhould he deſire to have qualities infuſed into his ſon, which himſelf never poſſeſſed, or knew, or found the want of, in the acquiſition of his wealth? The ſon, bred in ſloth and idleneſs, becomes a ſpendthrift, a cully, a profligate, and goes out of the world a beggar, as his father * came in: thus the former is puniſhed for his own ſins, as well as for thoſe of the latter. The dunghill, having raiſed a huge muſhroom of ſhort duration, is now ſpread to enrich other men's lands. It is indeed of worſe conſequence,

* It ſhould be—'as his father came *into* it.'

where

where noble families are gone to decay; becauſe their titles and privileges outlive their eſtates: and politicians tell us, that nothing is more dangerous to the publick, than a numerous nobility without merit or fortune. But even here God has likewiſe preſcribed ſome remedy in the order of nature; ſo many great families coming to an end, by the ſloth, luxury, and abandoned luſts, which enervated their breed through every ſucceſſion, producing gradually a more effeminate race wholly unfit for propagation.

A

LETTER

TO A

VERY YOUNG LADY

ON HER

MARRIAGE.

MADAM,

THE hurry and impertinence of receiving and paying viſits on account of your marriage being now over, you are beginning to enter into a courſe of life, where you will want much advice to divert you from falling into many errors, fopperies, and follies, to which your ſex is ſubject. I have always borne an entire friendſhip to your father and mother; and the perſon they have choſen for your huſband, has been for ſome years paſt my particular favourite; I have long wiſhed you might come together, becauſe I hoped, that from the goodneſs of your diſpoſition, and by following the counſel of wiſe friends, you might in time make yourſelf worthy of him. Your parents were ſo far in the right, that they did not produce

you much into the world, whereby you avoided many wrong ſteps, which others have taken, and have fewer ill impreſſions to be removed: but they failed, as it is generally the caſe, in too much neglecting to cultivate your mind; without which, it is impoſſible to acquire or preſerve the friendſhip and eſteem of a wiſe man, who ſoon grows weary of acting the lover, and treating his wife like a miſtreſs, but wants a reaſonable companion, and a true friend through every ſtage of his life. It muſt be therefore your buſineſs to qualify yourſelf for thoſe offices; wherein I will not fail to be your director, as long as I ſhall think you deſerve it, by letting you know how you are to act, and what you ought to avoid.

And beware of deſpiſing or neglecting my inſtructions, whereon will depend not only your making a good figure in the world, but your own real happineſs, as well as that of the perſon, who ought to be deareſt to you.

I muſt therefore deſire you, in the firſt place, to be very ſlow in changing the modeſt behaviour of a virgin: it is uſual in young wives, before they have been many weeks married, to aſſume a bold forward look and manner of talking; as if they intended to ſignify in all companies, that they were no longer girls, and conſequently that their whole demeanor, before they got a huſband, was all but a countenance and conſtraint upon their nature: whereas, I ſuppoſe, if the votes of wiſe men were gathered, a very great majority would be in favour of thoſe ladies, who, after they were entered

into

into that ſtate, rather choſe to double their portion of modeſty and reſervedneſs.

I muſt likewiſe warn you ſtrictly againſt the leaſt degree of fondneſs to your huſband before any witneſs whatſoever, even before your neareſt relations, or the very maids of your chamber. This proceeding is ſo exceeding odious and diſguſtful to all, who have either good breeding or good ſenſe, that they aſſign two very unamiable reaſons for it; the one is groſs hypocriſy, and the other has too bad a name to mention. If there is any difference to be made, your huſband is the loweſt perſon in company, either at home or abroad, and every gentleman preſent has a better claim to all marks of civility and diſtinction from you. Conceal your eſteem and love in your own breaſt, and reſerve your kind looks and language for private hours, which are ſo many in the four and twenty, that they will afford time to employ a paſſion as exalted as any that was ever deſcribed in a French romance.

Upon this head I ſhould likewiſe adviſe you to differ in practice from thoſe ladies, who affect abundance of uneaſineſs, while their huſbands are abroad; ſtart with every knock at the door, and ring the bell inceſſantly for the ſervants to let in their maſter; will not eat a bit at dinner or ſupper, if the huſband happens to ſtay out; and receive him at his return with ſuch a medley of chiding and kindneſs, and catechiſing him where he has been, that a ſhrew from Billingſgate would be a more eaſy and eligible companion.

Of

Of the ſame leaven are thoſe wives, who, when their huſbands are gone a journey, muſt have a letter every poſt upon pain of fits and hyſtericks; and a day muſt be fixed for their return home without the leaſt allowance for buſineſs, or ſickneſs, or accidents, or weather: upon which I can only ſay, that in my obſervation, thoſe ladies, who are apt to make the greateſt clutter on ſuch occaſions, would liberally have paid a meſſenger for bringing them news, that their huſbands had broken their necks on the road.

You will perhaps be offended, when I adviſe you to abate a little of that violent paſſion for fine cloaths, ſo predominant in your ſex. It is a little hard, that ours, for whoſe ſake you wear them, are not admitted to be of your council. I may venture to aſſure you, that we will make an abatement at any time of four pounds a yard in a brocade, if the ladies will but allow a ſuitable addition of care in the cleanlineſs and ſweetneſs of their perſons. For the ſatyrical part of mankind will needs believe, that it is not impoſſible to be very fine and very filthy; and that the capacities of a lady are ſometimes apt to fall ſhort, in cultivating cleanlineſs and finery together. I ſhall only add, upon ſo tender a ſubject, what a pleaſant gentleman ſaid concerning a ſilly woman of quality; that nothing could make her ſupportable but cutting off her head, for his ears were offended by her tongue, and his noſe by her hair and teeth.

I am

I am wholly at a loſs how to adviſe you in the choice of company, which however is a point of as great importance as any in your life. If your general acquaintance be among ladies, who are your equals or ſuperiors, provided they have nothing of what is commonly called an ill reputation, you think you are ſafe; and this, in the ſtyle of the world, will paſs for good company. Whereas, I am afraid it will be hard for you to pick out one female acquaintance in this town, from whom you will not be in manifeſt danger of contracting ſome foppery, affectation, vanity, folly, or vice. Your only ſafe way of converſing with them is, by a firm reſolution to proceed in your practice and behaviour directly contrary to whatever they ſhall ſay or do: and this I take to be a good general rule, with very few exceptions. For inſtance, in the doctrines they uſually deliver to young married women for managing their huſbands; their ſeveral accounts of their own conduct in that particular, to recommend it to your imitation; the reflections they make upon others of their ſex for acting differently; their directions, how to come off with victory upon any diſpute or quarrel you may have with your huſband; the arts, by which you may diſcover and practiſe upon his weak ſide; when to work by flattery and inſinuation, when to melt him with tears, and when to engage with a high hand: in theſe, and a thouſand other caſes, it will be prudent to retain as many of their lectures in your memory as you can, and then determine to act in full oppoſition to them all.

I hope,

I hope, your huſband will interpoſe his authority to limit you in the trade of viſiting: half a dozen fools are, in all conſcience, as many as you ſhould require; and it will be ſufficient for you to ſee them twice a year; for I think the faſhion does not exact, that viſits ſhould be paid to friends.

I adviſe, that your company at home ſhould conſiſt of men, rather than women. To ſay the truth, I never yet knew a tolerable woman to be fond of her own ſex. I confeſs when both are mixed and well choſen, and put their beſt qualities forward, there may be an intercourſe of civility and good-will; which, with the addition of ſome degree of ſenſe, can make converſation or any amuſement agreeable. But a knot of ladies, got together by themſelves, is a very ſchool of impertinence and detraction, and it is well if thoſe be the worſt.

Let your men-acquaintance be of your huſband's choice, and not recommended to you by any ſhe-companions; becauſe they will certainly fix a coxcomb upon you, and it will coſt you ſome time and pains, before you can arrive at the knowledge of diſtinguiſhing ſuch a one from a man of ſenſe.

Never take a favourite waiting-maid into your cabinet-council, to entertain you with hiſtories of thoſe ladies, whom ſhe has formerly ſerved, of their diverſions and their dreſſes; to inſinuate how great a fortune you brought, and how little you are allowed to ſquander; to appeal to her from your huſband, and to be determined by her judgment, becauſe you are ſure it will be always for you; to receive and diſcard ſervants by her approbation or diſlike;

diſlike; to engage you, by her inſinuations, in miſunderſtandings with your beſt friends; to repreſent all things in falſe colours, and to be the common emiſſary of ſcandal.

But the grand affair of your life will be to gain and preſerve the friendſhip and eſteem of your huſband. You are married to a man of good education and learning, of an excellent underſtanding, and an exact taſte. It is true, and it is happy for you, that theſe qualities in him are adorned with great modeſty, a moſt amiable ſweetneſs of temper, and an unuſual diſpoſition to ſobriety and virtue: but neither good-nature nor virtue will ſuffer him to eſteem you againſt his judgment; and although he is not capable of uſing you ill, yet you will in time grow a thing indifferent, and perhaps contemptible; unleſs you can ſupply the loſs of youth and beauty, with more durable qualities. You have but a very few years to be young and handſome in the eyes of the world; and as few months to be ſo in the eyes of a huſband, who is not a fool; for I hope you do not ſtill dream of charms and raptures, which marriage ever did, and ever will, put a ſudden end to. Beſides, yours was a match of prudence and common good liking, without any mixture of that ridiculous paſſion, which has no being but in play-books and romances.

You muſt therefore uſe all endeavours to attain to ſome degree of thoſe accompliſhments, which your huſband moſt values in other people, and for which he is moſt valued himſelf. You muſt improve your mind by cloſely purſuing ſuch a method

of ſtudy, as I ſhall direct or approve of. You muſt get a collection of hiſtory and travels, which I will recommend to you, and ſpend ſome hours every day in reading them, and making extracts from them, if your memory be weak. You muſt invite perſons of knowledge and underſtanding to an acquaintance with you, by whoſe converſation you may learn to correct your taſte and judgment; and when you can bring yourſelf to comprehend and reliſh the good ſenſe of others, you will arrive in time to think rightly yourſelf, and to become a reaſonable and agreeable companion. This muſt produce in your huſband a true rational love and eſteem for you, which old age will not diminiſh. He will have a regard for your judgment and opinion in matters of the greateſt weight; you will be able to entertain each other without a third perſon to relieve you by finding diſcourſe. The endowments of your mind will even make your perſon more agreeable to him; and when you are alone, your time will not lie heavy upon your hands, for want of ſome trifling amuſements.

As little reſpect as I have for the generality of your ſex, it has ſometimes moved me with pity to ſee the lady of the houſe forced to withdraw immediately after dinner, and this in families where there is not much drinking; as if it were an eſtabliſhed maxim, that women are uncapable of all converſation. In a room where both ſexes meet, if the men are diſcourſing upon any general ſubject, the ladies never think it their buſineſs to partake in what paſſes, but in a ſeparate club entertain each other

other with the price and choice of lace, and ſilk, and what dreſſes they liked or diſapproved at the church or the play-houſe. And when you are among yourſelves, how naturally, after the firſt compliments, do you apply your hands to each others lappets, and ruffles, and mantuas; as if the whole buſineſs of your lives, and the publick concern of the world, depended upon the cut or colour of your dreſſes. As divines ſay, that ſome people take more pains to be damned, than it would coſt them to be ſaved; ſo your ſex employs more thought, memory, and application to be fools, than would ſerve to make them wiſe and uſeful. When I reflect on this, I cannot conceive you to be human creatures, but a ſort of ſpecies hardly a degree above a monkey; who has more diverting tricks than any of you, is an animal leſs miſchievous and expenſive, might in time be a tolerable critick in velvet and brocade, and, for aught I know, would equally become them.

I would have you look upon finery as a neceſſary folly; which all great ladies did, whom I have ever known: I do not deſire you to be out of the faſhion, but to be the laſt and leaſt in it. I expect, that your dreſs ſhall be one degree lower than your fortune can afford; and in your own heart I would wiſh you to be an utter contemner of all diſtinctions, which a finer petticoat can give you; becauſe, it will neither make you richer, handſomer, younger, better-natured, more virtuous or wiſe, than if it hung upon a peg.

If you are in company with men of learning, though they happen to diſcourſe of arts and ſciences out of your compaſs, yet you will gather more advantage by liſtening to them, than from all the nonſenſe and frippery of your own ſex; but if they be men of breeding, as well as learning, they will ſeldom engage in any converſation, where you ought not to be a hearer, and in time have your part. If they talk of the manners and cuſtoms of the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe, of travels into remoter nations, of the ſtate of your own country, or of the great men and actions of Greece and Rome; if they give their judgment upon Engliſh and French writers either in verſe or proſe, or of the nature and limits of virtue and vice; it is a ſhame for an Engliſh lady not to reliſh ſuch diſcourſes, not to improve by them, and endeavour by reading and information to have her ſhare in thoſe entertainments, rather than turn aſide, as it is the uſual cuſtom, and conſult with the woman, who ſits next her, about a new cargo of fans.

It is a little hard, that not one gentleman's daughter in a thouſand ſhould be brought to read or underſtand her own natural tongue, or to be judge of the eaſieſt books, that are written in it; as any one may find, who can have the patience to hear them, when they are diſpoſed to mangle a play or a novel; where the leaſt word out of the common road is ſure to diſconcert them, and it is no wonder, when they are not ſo much as taught to ſpell in their childhood, nor can ever attain to it in their

their whole lives. I adviſe you therefore to read aloud, more or leſs, every day to your huſband, if he will permit you, or to any other friend (but not a female one) who is able to ſet you right; and as for ſpelling, you may compaſs it in time by making collections from the books you read.

I know very well, that thoſe who are commonly called learned women, have loſt all manner of credit by their impertinent talkativeneſs and conceit of themſelves; but there is an eaſy remedy for this, if you once conſider, that after all the pains you may be at, you never can arrive in point of learning to the perfection of a ſchool-boy. The reading I would adviſe you to, is only for improvement of your own good ſenſe, which will never fail of being mended by diſcretion. It is a wrong method, and ill choice of books, that makes thoſe learned ladies juſt ſo much the worſe for what they have read: and therefore it ſhall be my care to direct you better, a taſk for which I take myſelf to be not ill qualified; becauſe I have ſpent more time, and have had more opportunities than many others, to obſerve and diſcover, from what ſources the various follies of women are derived.

Pray obſerve, how inſignificant things are the common race of ladies, when they have paſſed their youth and beauty; how contemptible they appear to the men, and yet more contemptible to the younger part of their own ſex; and have no relief, but in paſſing their afternoons in viſits, where they are never acceptable; and their evenings at cards among each other; while the former part of

the day is ſpent in ſpleen and envy, or in vain endeavours to repair by art and dreſs the ruins of time. Whereas I have known ladies at ſixty, to whom all the polite part of the court and town paid their addreſſes without any farther view, than that of enjoying the pleaſure of their converſation.

I am ignorant of any one quality, that is amiable in a man, which is not equally ſo in a woman: I do not except even modeſty and gentleneſs of nature. Nor do I know one vice or folly, which is not equally deteſtable in both. There is indeed one infirmity, which is generally allowed you, I mean that of cowardice; yet there ſhould ſeem to be ſomething very capricious, that when women profeſs their admiration for a colonel or a captain, on account of his valour, they ſhould fancy it a very graceful becoming quality in themſelves, to be afraid of their own ſhadows; to ſcream in a barge, when the weather is calmeſt, or in a coach at the ring; to run from a cow at a hundred yards diſtance; to fall into fits at the ſight of a ſpider, an earwig, or a frog. At leaſt, if cowardice be a ſign of cruelty, (as it is generally granted) I can hardly think it an accompliſhment ſo deſirable, as to be thought worth improving by affectation.

And as the ſame virtues equally become both ſexes, ſo there is no quality, whereby women endeavour to diſtinguiſh themſelves from men, for which they are not juſt ſo much the worſe, except that only of reſervedneſs; which, however, as you generally manage it, is nothing elſe but affectation or hypocriſy. For, as you cannot too much

diſcountenance thoſe of our ſex, who preſume to take unbecoming liberties before you; ſo you ought to be wholly unconſtrained in the company of deſerving men, when you have had ſufficient experience of their diſcretion.

There is never wanting in this town a tribe of bold, ſwaggering, rattling ladies, whoſe talents paſs among coxcombs for wit and humour; their excellency lies in rude ſhocking expreſſions, and what they call running a man down. If a gentleman in their company happens to have any blemiſh in his birth or perſon, if any misfortune has befallen his family or himſelf, for which he is aſhamed, they will be ſure to give him broad hints of it without any provocation. I would recommend you to the acquaintance of a common proſtitute, rather than to that of ſuch termagants as theſe. I have often thought, that no man is obliged to ſuppoſe ſuch creatures to be women, but to treat them like inſolent raſcals diſguiſed in female habits, who ought to be ſtript and kicked down ſtairs.

I will add one thing, although it be a little out of place, which is to deſire, that you will learn to value and eſteem your huſband for thoſe good qualities, which he really poſſeſſes, and not to fancy others in him, which he certainly has not. For, although this latter is generally underſtood to be a mark of love, yet it is indeed nothing but affectation or ill judgment. It is true, he wants ſo very few accompliſhments, that you are in no great danger of erring on this ſide; but my caution is occaſioned by a lady of your acquaintance, married to

a very valuable perſon, whom yet ſhe is ſo unfortunate, as to be always commending for thoſe perfections, to which he can leaſt pretend.

I can give you no advice upon the article of expence; only I think, you ought to be well-informed how much your huſband's revenue amounts to, and be ſo good a computer, as to keep within it in that part of the management, which falls to your ſhare; and not to put yourſelf in the number of thoſe politick ladies, who think they gain a great point, when they have teazed their huſbands to buy them a new equipage, a laced head, or a fine petticoat, without once conſidering what long ſcores remain unpaid to the butcher.

I deſire you will keep this letter in your cabinet, and often examine impartially your whole conduct by it: and ſo God bleſs you, and make you a fair example to your ſex, and a perpetual comfort to your huſband and your parents. I am, with great truth and affection,

MADAM,

Your moſt faithful friend,

and humble ſervant.

THE
WONDERFUL
WONDER
OF
WONDERS.

THERE is a certain perſon lately arrived at this city, of whom it is very proper the world ſhould be informed. His character may perhaps be thought very inconſiſtent, improbable, and unnatural; however I intend to draw it with the utmoſt regard to truth. This I am the better qualified to do, becauſe he is a ſort of dependant upon our family, and almoſt of the ſame age; though I cannot directly ſay, I have ever ſeen him. He is a native of this country, and has lived long among us; but what appears wonderful, and hardly credible, was never ſeen before, by any mortal.

It is true indeed, he always chooſes the loweſt place in company; and contrives it ſo, to keep out of ſight. It is reported however, that in his younger days he was frequently expoſed to view, but always againſt his will, and was ſure to ſmart for it.

As to his family, he came into the world a younger brother, being of ſix children the fourth

in

order of (1) birth; of which the eldeſt is now head of the houſe; the ſecond and third carry arms; but the two youngeſt are only footmen: ſome indeed add, that he has likewiſe a twin-brother, who lives over againſt him and keeps a (2) victualling-houſe; he has the reputation to be a cloſe, griping, ſqueezing fellow; and that when his bags are full, he is often needy; yet when the fit takes him, as faſt as he gets, he lets it fly.

When in office, no one diſcharges himſelf, or does his buſineſs better. He has ſometimes ſtrained hard for an honeſt livelihood; and never got a bit, till every body elſe had done.

One practice appears very blameable in him; that every morning he privately frequents unclean houſes, where any modeſt perſon would bluſh to be ſeen. And although this be generally known, yet the world, as cenſorious as it is, has been ſo kind to overlook this infirmity in him. To deal impartially, it muſt be granted that he is too great a lover of himſelf, and very often conſults his own eaſe, at the expence of his beſt friends: but this is one of his blind-ſides; and the beſt of men I fear are not without them.

He has been conſtituted by the higher powers in the ſtation of receiver-general, in which employment ſome have cenſured him for playing faſt and looſe. He is likewiſe overſeer of the golden mines, which he daily inſpects, when his health will permit him.

He was long bred under a (3) maſter of arts, who inſtilled good principles into him, but theſe were

were ſoon corrupted. I know not whether this deſerves mention; that he is ſo very capricious, as to take it for an equal affront, to talk either of kiſſing or kicking him, which has occaſioned a thouſand quarrels: however no body was ever ſo great a ſufferer for faults, which he neither was, nor poſſibly could be guilty of.

In his religion he has thus much of the quaker, that he ſtands always covered, even in the preſence of the king; in moſt other points a perfect (4) idolater, although he endeavours to conceal it; for he is known to offer daily ſacrifices to certain ſubterraneous nymphs, whom he worſhips in an humble poſture, prone on his face, and ſtript ſtark naked; and ſo leaves his offerings behind him, which the (5) prieſts of thoſe goddeſſes are careful enough to remove, upon certain ſeaſons, with the utmoſt privacy at midnight, and from thence maintain themſelves and families. In all urgent neceſſities and preſſures, he applies himſelf to theſe deities, and ſometimes even in the ſtreets and high-ways, from an opinion that thoſe powers have an influence in all places, although their peculiar reſidence be in caverns under ground. Upon theſe occaſions, the faireſt ladies will not refuſe to lend their hands to aſſiſt him: for, although they are aſhamed to have him ſeen in their company, or even ſo much as to hear him named; yet it is well known, that he is one of their conſtant followers.

In politicks, he always ſubmits to what is uppermoſt; but he peruſes pamphlets on both ſides with great

great impariality, though ſeldom till every body elſe has done with them.

His learning is of a mixed kind, and he may properly be called a *helluo librorum*, or another Jacobus de Voragine; though his ſtudies are chiefly confined to ſchoolmen, commentators, and German divines, together with modern poetry and criticks: and he is an atomick philoſopher, ſtrongly maintaining a void in nature, which he ſeems to have fairly proved by many experiments.

I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe ſome peculiar qualities, which, in ſeveral inſtances, ſeem to diſtinguiſh this perſon from the common race of other mortals.

His grandfather was a member of the rump parliament, as the grandſon is of the preſent, where he often riſes, ſometimes grumbles, but never ſpeaks. However he lets nothing paſs willingly, but what is well digeſted. His courage is indiſputable, for he will take the boldeſt man alive by the noſe.

He is generally the firſt a-bed in the family, and the laſt up; which is to be lamented; becauſe when he happens to riſe before the reſt, it has been thought to forebode ſome good fortune to his ſuperiors.

As wiſdom is acquired by age, ſo, by every new (6) wrinkle in his face, he is reported to gain ſome new knowledge.

In him we may obſerve the true effects and conſequences of tyranny in a ſtate: for, as he is a great oppreſſor of all below him, ſo there is nobody more oppreſſed by thoſe above him; yet, in

his time, he has been ſo highly in favour, that many illuſtrious perſons have been entirely indebted to him for their preferments.

He has diſcovered, from his own experience, the true point wherein all human actions, projects, and deſigns do chiefly terminate; and how mean and ſordid they are at the bottom.

It behoves the publick to keep him quiet; for his frequent murmurs are a certain ſign of inteſtine tumults.

No philoſopher ever lamented more the luxury, for which theſe nations are ſo juſtly taxed; it has been known to coſt him (7) tears of blood: for in his own nature he is far from being profuſe; though indeed he never ſtays a night at a gentleman's houſe, without leaving ſomething behind him.

He receives with great ſubmiſſion whatever his patrons think fit to give him; and when they lay heavy burdens upon him, which is frequently enough, he gets rid of them as ſoon as he can; but not without ſome labour, and much grumbling.

He is a perpetual hanger-on; yet nobody knows how to be without him. He patiently ſuffers himſelf to be kept under, but loves to be well uſed, and in that caſe will ſacrifice his vitals to give you eaſe: and he has hardly one acquaintance, for whom he has not been bound; yet, as far as we can find, was never known to loſe any thing by it.

He is obſerved to be very (8) unquiet in the company of a Frenchman in new cloaths, or a young coquette.

He

He is, in ſhort, the ſubject of much mirth and raillery, which he ſeems to take well enough; though it has not been obſerved, that ever any good thing came from himſelf.

There is ſo general an opinion of his juſtice, that ſometimes very hard caſes are left to his deciſion; and while he ſits upon them, he carries himſelf exactly even between both ſides, except where ſome knotty point ariſes; and then he is obſerved to lean a little to the right or left, as the matter inclines him; but his reaſons for it are ſo manifeſt and convincing, that every man approves them.

POSTSCRIPT.

GENTLE READER,

THOUGH I am not inſenſible how many thouſand perſons have been, and ſtill are, with great dexterity handling this ſubject, and no leſs aware of what infinite reams of paper have been laid out upon it; however, in my opinion no man living has touched it with greater nicety, and more delicate turns, than our author. But, becauſe there is ſome intended obſcurity in this relation; and curioſity, inquiſitive of ſecrets, may poſſibly not enter into the bottom and depth of the ſubject, it was thought not improper to take off the veil, and gain the reader's favour by inlarging his inſight. ARS *enim non habet inimicum, niſi ignorantem.* It is well known, that it has been the policy of all times, to deliver down important ſubjects by emblem and riddle, and not to ſuffer the knowledge of truth to be derived to us in plain and ſimple terms, which are generally as ſoon forgotten as conceived. For this reaſon, the heathen religion is moſtly couched under mythology. For the like reaſon (this being a FUNDAMENTAL in its kind) the author has thought fit to wrap up his treaſure in clean linen, which it is our buſineſs to lay open, and ſet in a due light; for I have obſerved, upon any accidental diſcovery, the leaſt glimpſe has given a great di-

verſion

verſion to the eager ſpectator, as many ladies could teſtify, were it proper, or the caſe would admit.

The politeſt companies have vouchaſed to ſmile at the bare name; and ſome people of faſhion have been ſo little ſcrupulous of bringing it in play, that it was the uſual ſaying of a knight and a man of good breeding, that whenever he roſe, his a-ſe roſe with him.

NOTES.

(1) He alludes to the manner of our birth, the head and arms appears before the poſteriors and the two feet, which he calls the footmen.

(2) Victualling-houſe.] The belly, which receives and digeſts our nouriſhment.

(3) Maſter of arts.] Perſius: *magiſter artis, ingeniique largitor venter.*

(4) Idolater.] Alludes to the ſacrifices offered by the Romans to the goddeſs Cloacina.

(5) Prieſts.] Gold-finders, who perform their office in the night-time: but our author farther ſeems to have an eye to the cuſtom of the heathen prieſts ſtealing the offerings in the night; of which ſee more in the ſtory of Bell and the Dragon.

(6) Wrinkle.] This refers to a proverb---you have one wrinkle in your a-ſe more than you had before.

(7) Tears of blood.] Hæmorrhoids, according to the phyſicians, are a frequent conſequence of intemperance.

(8) Unquiet.] Their tails being generally obſerved to be moſt reſtleſs.

THE
WONDER
OF ALL THE
WONDERS,
That ever the WORLD wonder'd at.

For all PERSONS of QUALITY and Others.

NEWLY arrived at this city of Dublin, the famous artiſt John Emanuel Schoitz, who, to the great ſurprize and ſatisfaction of all ſpectators, is ready to do the following wonderful performances; the like before never ſeen in this kingdom.

He will heat a bar of iron red hot, and thruſt it into a barrel of gunpowder before all the company, and yet it ſhall not take fire.

He lets any gentleman charge a blunderbuſs with the ſame gunpowder, and twelve leaden bullets, which blunderbuſs the ſaid artiſt diſcharges full in the face of the ſaid company, without the leaſt hurt, the bullets ſticking in the wall behind them.

He takes any gentleman's own ſword, and runs it through the ſaid gentleman's body, ſo that the point appears bloody at the back to all the ſpectators; then he takes out the ſword, wipes it clean, and

and returns it to the owner, who receives no manner of hurt.

He takes a pot of ſcalding oil, and throws it by great ladles-full directly at the ladies, without ſpoiling their cloaths or burning their ſkins.

He takes any perſon of quality's child from two years old to ſix, and lets the child's own father or mother take a pike in their hands; then the artiſt takes the child in his arms, and toſſes it upon the point of the pike, where it ſticks to the great ſatisfaction of all ſpectators; and is then taken off without ſo much as a hole in his coat.

He mounts upon a ſcaffold juſt over the ſpectators, and from thence throws down a great quantity of large tiles and ſtones, which fall like ſo many pillows, without ſo much as diſcompoſing either perukes or head-dreſſes.

He takes any perſon of quality up to the ſaid ſcaffold, which perſon pulls off his ſhoes, and leaps nine foot directly down on a board prepared on purpoſe, full of ſharp ſpikes ſix inches long, without hurting his feet or damaging his ſtockings.

He places the ſaid board on a chair, upon which a lady ſits down with another lady in her lap, while the ſpikes, inſtead of entering into the under lady's fleſh, will feel like a velvet cuſhion.

He takes any perſon of quality's footman, ties a rope about his bare neck, and draws him up by pullies to the cieling, and there keeps him hanging as long as his maſter or the company pleaſes, the ſaid footman, to the wonder and delight of all beholders, having a pot of ale in one hand and a pipe

in the other; and when he is let down, there will not appear the leaſt mark of the cord about his neck.

He bids a lady's maid put her finger into a cup of clear liquor like water, upon which her face and both her hands are immediately withered like an old woman of fourſcore; her belly ſwells as if ſhe were within a week of her time, and her legs are as thick as mill-poſts: but upon putting her finger into another cup, ſhe becomes as young and handſome as ſhe was before.

He gives any gentleman leave to drive forty twelve-penny nails up to the head in a porter's backſide, and then places the ſaid porter on a loadſtone chair, which draws out every nail, and the porter feels no pain.

He likewiſe draws the teeth of half a dozen gentlemen, mixes and jumbles them in a hat, gives any perſon leave to blindfold him, and returns each their own, and fixes them as well as ever.

With his fore-finger and thumb, he thruſts ſeveral gentlemen's and lady's eyes out of their heads, without the leaſt pain, at which time they ſee an unſpeakable number of beautiful colours; and after they are entertained to the full, he places them again in their proper ſockets, without any damage to the ſight.

He lets any gentleman drink a quart of hot melted lead, and by a draught of prepared liquor, of which he takes part himſelf, he makes the ſaid lead paſs through the ſaid gentleman, before all the

ſpectators,

ſpectators, without any damage; after which it is produced in a cake to the company.

With many other wonderful performances of art, too tedious here to mention.

The ſaid artiſt has performed before moſt kings and princes in Europe with great applauſe.

He performs every day (except Sundays) from ten of the clock to one in the forenoon; and from four till ſeven in the evening, at the new inn in Smithfield.

The firſt ſeat a Britiſh crown, the ſecond a Britiſh half-crown, and the loweſt a Britiſh ſhilling.

N. B. The beſt hands in town are to play at the ſaid ſhow.

THE

TATLER.

NUMBER LXVI.

Saturday, September 10, 1709.

WILL's COFFEE-HOUSE, Sept. 9.

THE ſubject of the diſcourſe this evening was Eloquence and graceful Action. Lyſander, who is ſomething particular in his way of thinking and ſpeaking, told us, a man could not be eloquent without action: for the deportment of the body, the turn of the eye, and an apt ſound to every word that is uttered, muſt all conſpire to make an accompliſhed ſpeaker. Action in one that ſpeaks in public, is the ſame thing as a good mien in ordinary life. Thus, as a certain inſenſibility in the countenance recommends a ſentence of humour and jeſt, ſo it muſt be a very lively conſciouſneſs that gives grace to great ſentiments. The jeſt is to be a thing unexpected; therefore your undeſigning manner is a beauty in expreſſions of mirth: but when you are to talk on a ſet ſubject, the more you are moved yourſelf, the more you will move others.

There is, ſaid he, a remarkable example of that kind. Æſchines, a famous orator of antiquity, had pleaded at Athens in a great cauſe againſt Demoſthenes; but having loſt it, retired to Rhodes: Eloquence was then the quality moſt admired among men, and the magiſtrates of that place, having

heard he had a copy of the ſpeech of Demoſthenes, deſired him to repeat both their pleadings. After his own, he recited alſo the oration of his antagoniſt. The people expreſſed their admiration of both, but more of that of Demoſthenes. If you are, ſaid he, thus touched with hearing only what that great orator ſaid, how would you have been affected had you ſeen him ſpeak? for he who hears Demoſthenes only, loſes much the better part of the oration. Certain it is, that they, who ſpeak gracefully, are very lamely repreſented in having their ſpeeches read or repeated by unſkilful people; for there is ſomething native to each man, ſo inherent to his thoughts and ſentiments, which it is hardly poſſible for another to give a true idea of. You may obſerve in common talk, when a ſentence of any man's is repeated, an acquaintance of his ſhall immediately obſerve, "That is ſo like him, me-"thinks I ſee how he looked when he ſaid it."

But of all the people on the earth, there are none who puzzle me ſo much as the clergy of Great Britain, who are, I believe, the moſt learned body of men now in the world; and yet this art of ſpeaking, with the proper ornaments of voice and geſture, is wholly neglected among them; and I will engage, were a deaf man to behold the greater part of them preach, he would rather think they were reading the contents only of ſome diſcourſe they intended to make, than actually in the body of an oration, even when they are upon matters of ſuch a nature, as one would believe it were impoſſible to think of without emotion.

I own there are exceptions to this general obſervation, and that the Dean * we heardt he other day together is an orator. He has ſo much regard to his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he is to ſay to them; and has ſo ſoft and graceful a behaviour, that it muſt attract your attention. His perſon, it is to be confeſſed, is no ſmall recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not loſing that advantage; and adding to the propriety of ſpeech, which might paſs the criticiſm of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demoſthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has charmed many of his audience who could not be intelligent hearers of his diſcourſe, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is uſeful with the moſt exact and honeſt ſkill: he never attempts your paſſions, until he has convinced your reaſon. All the objections which he can form, are laid open and diſperſed, before he uſes the leaſt vehemence in his ſermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very ſoon wins your heart; and never pretends to ſhew the beauty of holineſs, until he has convinced you of the truth of it.

Would every one of our clergymen be thus careful to recommend truth and virtue in their proper figures, and ſhew ſo much concern for them as to give them all additional force they were able; it

* "When the amiable character of the Dean is acknowledged to "be drawn for Dr. Atterbury, I hope I need ſay no more as to my "impartiality." Mr. Steele's Preface to his fourth volume of TATLERS. N.

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is not poſſible that nonſenſe ſhould have ſo many hearers as you find it has in Diſſenting congregations, for no reaſon in the world, but becauſe it is ſpoken extempore: for ordinary minds are wholly governed by their eyes and ears; and there is no way to come at their hearts, but by power over their imaginations.

There is my friend and merry companion Daniel: he knows a great deal better than he ſpeaks, and can form a proper diſcourſe as well as any orthodox neighbour. But he knows very well, that to bawl out, My beloved! and the words grace! regeneration! ſanctification! a new light! the day! the day! ay, my beloved, the day! or rather the night! the night is coming! and judgment will come, when we leaſt think of it! and ſo forth—He knows, to be vehement is the only way to come at his audience. Daniel, when he ſees my friend Greenhat come in, can give a good hint, and cry out, This is only for the ſaints! the regenerated! By this force of action, though mixed with all the incoherence and ribaldry imaginable, Daniel can laugh at his dioceſan, and grow fat by voluntary ſubſcription, while the parſon of the pariſh goes to law for half his dues. Daniel will tell you, It is not the ſhepherd, but the ſheep with the bell, which the flock follows.

Another thing, very wonderful this learned body ſhould omit, is, learning to read; which is a moſt neceſſary part of eloquence in one who is to ſerve at the altar: for there is no man but muſt be ſenſible, that the lazy tone, and inarticulate ſound

of our common readers, depreciates the moſt proper form of words that were ever extant in any nation or language, to ſpeak their own wants, or His power from whom we aſk relief.

There cannot be a greater inſtance of the power of action than in little parſon Dapper, who is the common relief to all the lazy pulpits in town. This ſmart youth has a very good memory, a quick eye, and a clean handkerchief. Thus equipped, he opens his text, ſhuts his book fairly, ſhews he has no notes in his Bible, opens both palms, and ſhews all is fair there too. Thus, with a deciſive air, my young man goes on without heſitation; and though from the beginning to the end of his pretty diſcourſe, he has not uſed one proper geſture, yet, at the concluſion, the churchwarden pulls his gloves from off his hands; "Pray, who is this ex-"traordinary young man?" Thus the force of action is ſuch, that it is more prevalent, even when improper, than all the reaſon and argument in the world without it.—This gentleman concluded his diſcourſe by ſaying, I do not doubt but if our preachers would learn to ſpeak, and our readers to read, within ſix months time, we ſhould not have a Diſſenter within a mile of a church in Great Britain.

THE

THE TATLER. N° 67.

Tueſday, September 13, 1709.

From my own Apartments, SEPTEMBER 12.

MY province is much larger than at firſt ſight men would imagine, and I ſhall loſe no part of my juriſdiction, which extends not only to futurity, but alſo is retroſpect to things paſt; and the behaviour of perſons, who have long ago acted their parts, is as much liable to my examination, as that of my own contemporaries.

In order to put the whole race of mankind in their proper diſtinctions, according to the opinion their cohabitants conceived of them, I have with very much care, and depth of meditation, thought fit to erect a chamber of Fame; and eſtabliſhed certain rules, which are to be obſerved in admitting members into this illuſtrious ſociety.

In this chamber of Fame there are to be three tables, but of different lengths; the firſt is to contain exactly twelve perſons; the ſecond, twenty; and the third, an hundred. This is reckoned to be the full number of thoſe who have any competent ſhare of Fame. At the firſt of theſe tables are to be placed, in their order, the twelve moſt famous perſons in the world; not with regard to the things they are famous for, but according to the degree of their fame, whether in valour, wit, or learning.

learning. Thus, if a ſcholar be more famous than a ſoldier, he is to ſit above him. Neither muſt any preference be given to virtue, if the perſon be not equally famous.

When the firſt table is filled, the next in renown muſt be ſeated at the ſecond, and ſo on in like manner to the number of twenty; as alſo in the ſame order at the third, which is to hold a hundred. At theſe tables, no regard is to be had to ſeniority: for if Julius Cæſar ſhall be judged more famous than Romulus and Scipio, he muſt have the precedence. No perſon who has not been dead a hundred years, muſt be offered to a place at any of theſe tables: and becauſe this is altogether a lay-ſociety, and that ſacred perſons move upon greater motives than that of Fame, no perſons celebrated in Holy Writ, or any eccleſiaſtical man whatſoever, are to be introduced here.

At the lower end of the room is to be a ſide-table for perſons of great Fame, but dubious exiſtence; ſuch as Hercules, Theſeus, Æneas, Achilles, Hector, and others. But becauſe it is apprehended, that there may be great contention about precedence, the propoſer humbly deſires the opinion of the learned, towards his aſſiſtance in placing every perſon according to his rank, that none may have juſt occaſion of offence. The merits of the cauſe ſhall be judged by plurality of voices.

For the more impartial execution of this important affair, it is deſired, that no man will offer his favourite Hero, Scholar, or Poet; and that the learned will be pleaſed to ſend to Mr. Bickerſtaff,

at

at Mr. Morphew's near Stationers-hall, their ſeveral liſts for the firſt table only, and in the order they would have them placed; after which, the propoſer will compare the ſeveral liſts, and make another for the publick, wherein every name ſhall be ranked according to the voices it has had. Under this chamber is to be a dark vault, for the ſame number of perſons of evil Fame.

It is humbly ſubmitted to conſideration, whether the project would not be better, if the perſons of true Fame meet in a middle room, thoſe of dubious exiſtence in an upper room, and thoſe of evil Fame in a lower dark room.

It is to be noted, that no Hiſtorians are to be admitted at any of theſe tables; becauſe they are appointed to conduct the ſeveral perſons to their ſeats, and are to be made uſe of as uſhers to the aſſemblies.

I call upon the learned world to ſend me their aſſiſtance towards this deſign, it being a matter of too great moment for any one perſon to determine. But I do aſſure them, their liſts ſhall be examined with great fidelity, and thoſe that are expoſed to the publick, made with all the caution imaginable.

THE

THE TATLER. N° 74.

Thurſday, September 29, 1709.

GRECIAN COFFEE-HOUSE, Sept. 29.

THIS evening I thought fit to notify to the literati of this houſe, and by that means to all the world, that on Saturday the fifteenth of October next enſuing, I deſign to fix my firſt table of Fame; and deſire that ſuch as are acquainted with the characters of the twelve moſt famous men that have ever appeared in the world, would ſend in their liſts, or name any one man for that table, aſſigning alſo his place at it, before that time, upon pain of having ſuch his man of Fame poſtponed, or placed too high, for ever. I ſhall not, upon any application whatever, alter the place which upon that day I ſhall give to any of theſe Worthies. But, whereas there are many who take upon them to admire this Hero, or that Author, upon ſecond hand, I expect each ſubſcriber ſhould underwrite his reaſon for the place he allots his candidate.

The thing is of the laſt conſequence; for we are about ſettling the greateſt point that ever has been debated in any age; and I ſhall take precautions accordingly. Let every man who votes, conſider, that he is now going to give away that, for which the Soldier gave up his reſt, his pleaſure, and his life; the Scholar reſigned his whole ſeries

of

of thought, his midnight repoſe, and his morning ſlumbers. In a word, he is, as I may ſay, to be judge of that after-life, which noble ſpirits prefer to their very real Beings. I hope I ſhall be forgiven therefore, if I make ſome objections againſt their jury, as they ſhall occur to me. The whole of the number by whom they are to be tried, are to be ſcholars. I am perſuaded alſo that Ariſtotle will be put up by all of that claſs of men. However, in behalf of others, ſuch as wear the livery of Ariſtotle, the two famous Univerſities are called upon on this occaſion: but I except the men of Queen's, Exeter, and Jeſus Colleges, in Oxford, who are not to be electors, becauſe he ſhall not be crowned from an implicit faith in his writings, but receive his honour from ſuch Judges as ſhall allow him to be cenſured. Upon this election, as I was juſt now going to ſay, I baniſh all who think, and ſpeak after others, to concern themſelves in it. For which reaſon, all illiterate diſtant admirers are forbidden to corrupt the voices, by ſending, according to the new mode, any poor ſtudents coals and candles for their votes in behalf of ſuch Worthies as they pretend to eſteem. All News-writers are alſo excluded, becauſe they conſider Fame as it is a report which gives foundation to the filling up their rhapſodies, and not as it is the emanation or conſequence of good and evil actions. Theſe are excepted againſt as juſtly as butchers in caſe of life and death: their familiarity with the greateſt names, takes off the delicacy of their regard, as dealing in blood makes the Lanii leſs tender of ſpilling it.

THE

THE TATLER. N° 81.

Saturday, October 15, 1709.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi,——
Quîque pii vates, & Phæbo digna locuti;
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quîque ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

VIRG. Æn. vi. 660.

Here Patriots live, who for their country's good,
In fighting fields were prodigal of blood;——
Here Poets, worthy their inſpiring god,
And of unblemiſh'd life, make their abode:
And ſearching Wits, of more mechanic parts,
Who grac'd their age with new-invented arts:
Thoſe who to worth their bounty did extend;
And thoſe who knew that bounty to commend.

DRDYEN.

From my own Apartments, OCTOBER 14.

THERE are two kinds of immortality; that which the ſoul really enjoys after this life, and that imaginary exiſtence, by which men live in their fame and reputation. The beſt and greateſt actions, have proceeded from the proſpect of the one, or the other of theſe; but my deſign is to treat only of thoſe who have chiefly propoſed to themſelves the latter, as the principal reward of their labours. It was for this reaſon that I excluded from my Tables of Fame, all the great founders and votaries of religion; and it is for this reaſon alſo, that I am more than ordinarily anxious to do juſtice to the perſons of whom I am now

going to ſpeak; for, ſince Fame was the only end of all their enterprizes and ſtudies, a man cannot be too ſcrupulous in allotting them their due proportion of it. It was this conſideration which made me call the whole body of the learned to my aſſiſtance; to many of whom I muſt own my obligations for the catalogues of illuſtrious perſons, which they have ſent me in upon this occaſion. I yeſterday employed the whole afternoon in comparing them with each other; which made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon my imagination, that they broke my ſleep for the firſt part of the following night, and at length threw me into a very agreeable viſion, which I ſhall beg leave to deſcribe in all its particulars.

I dreamed that I was conveyed into a wide and boundleſs plain, that was covered with prodigious multitudes of people, which no man could number. In the midſt of it there ſtood a mountain, with its head above the clouds. The ſides were extremely ſteep, and of ſuch a particular ſtructure, that no creature which was not made in a human figure could poſſibly aſcend it. On a ſudden there was heard from the top of it a ſound like that of a trumper; but ſo exceedingly ſweet and harmonious, that filled it the hearts of thoſe who heard it with raptures, and gave ſuch high and delightful ſenſations, as ſeemed to animate and raiſe human nature above itſelf. This made me very much amazed to find ſo very few in that innumerable multitude, who had ears fine enough to hear or reliſh this muſic with pleaſure: but my wonder

abated,

abated, when, upon looking round me, I ſaw moſt of them attentive to three Syrens cloathed like goddeſſes, and diſtinguiſhed by the names of Sloth, Ignorance, and Pleaſure. They were ſeated on three rocks, amid a beautiful variety of groves, meadows, and rivulets, that lay on the borders of the mountain. While the baſe and groveling multitude of different nations, ranks, and ages, were liſtening to theſe deluſive deities; thoſe of a more erect aſpect, and exalted ſpirit, ſeparated themſelves from the reſt, and marched in great bodies towards the mountain, from whence they heard the ſound, which ſtill grew ſweeter, the more they liſtened to it.

On a ſudden methought this ſelect band ſprang forward, with a reſolution to climb the aſcent, and follow the call of that heavenly muſic. Every one took ſomething with him, that he thought might be of aſſiſtance to him in his march. Several had their ſwords drawn, ſome carried rolls of paper in their hands, ſome had compaſſes, others quadrants, others teleſcopes, and others pencils; ſome had laurels on their heads, and others buſkins on their legs: in ſhort, there was ſcarce any inſtrument of a mechanic art, or liberal ſcience, which was not made uſe of on this occaſion. My good Dæmon, who ſtood at my right hand during the courſe of this whole viſion, obſerving in me a burning deſire to join that glorious company, told me, he highly approved that generous ardour with which I ſeemed tranſported; but, at the ſame time, adviſed me to cover my face with a maſk all the while I was to labour

labour on the aſcent. I took his counſel, without inquiring into his reaſons. The whole body now broke into different parties, and began to climb the precipice by ten thouſand different paths. Several got into little alleys, which did not reach far up the hill, before they ended and led no farther; and I obſerved, that moſt of the artizans, which conſiderably diminiſhed our number, fell into theſe paths.

We left another conſiderable body of adventurers behind us, who thought they had diſcovered bye-ways up the hill, which proved ſo very intricate and perplexed, that after having advanced in them a little, they were quite loſt among the ſeveral turns and windings; and though they were as active as any in their motions, they made but little progreſs in the aſcent. Theſe, as my guide informed me, were men of ſubtle tempers, and puzzled politicks, who would ſupply the place of real wiſdom, with cunning and artifice. Among thoſe who were far advanced in their way, there were ſome, that by one falſe ſtep fell backward, and loſt more ground in a moment, than they had gained for many hours, or could be ever able to recover. We were now advanced very high, and obſerved that all the different paths, which ran about the ſides of the mountain, began to meet in two great roads; which inſenſibly gathered the whole multitude of travellers into two great bodies. At a little diſtance from the entrance of each road, there ſtood a hideous phantom, that oppoſed our farther paſſage. One of theſe apparitions had his right hand filled with

darts, which he brandiſhed in the face of all who came up that way: crowds ran back at the appearance of it, and cried out Death. The ſpectre that guarded the other road, was Envy: ſhe was not armed with weapons of deſtruction, like the former; but by dreadful hiſſings, noiſes of reproach, and a horrid diſtracted laughter, ſhe appeared more frightful than Death itſelf; inſomuch that abundance of our company were diſcouraged from paſſing any farther, and ſome appeared aſhamed of having come ſo far. As for myſelf, I muſt confeſs my heart ſhrunk within me at the ſight of theſe ghaſtly appearances: but on a ſudden, the voice of the trumpet came more full upon us, ſo that we felt a new reſolution reviving in us; and in proportion as this reſolution grew, the terrors before us ſeemed to vaniſh. Moſt of the company, who had ſwords in their hands, marched on with great ſpirit, and an air of defiance, up the road that was commanded by Death; while others, who had thought and contemplation in their looks, went forward, in a more compoſed manner, up the road poſſeſſed by Envy. The way above theſe apparitions grew ſmooth and uniform, and was ſo delightful, that the travellers went on with pleaſure, and in a little time arrived at the top of the mountain. They here began to breathe a delicious kind of æther, and ſaw all the fields about them covered with a kind of purple light, that made them reflect with ſatisfaction on their paſt toils; and diffuſed a ſecret joy through the whole aſſembly, which ſhewed itſelf in every look and feature. In the midſt of

theſe happy fields there ſtood a palace of a very glorious ſtructure: it had four great folding-doors, that faced the four ſeveral quarters of the world. On the top of it was enthroned the goddeſs of the mountain, who ſmiled upon her votaries, and ſounded the ſilver trumpet which had called them up, and cheered them in their paſſage to her palace. They had now formed themſelves into ſeveral diviſions; a band of hiſtorians taking their ſtations at each door, according to the perſons whom they were to introduce.

On a ſudden, the trumpet, which had hitherto ſounded only a march, or point of war, now ſwelled all its notes into triumph and exultation: the whole fabric ſhook, and the doors flew open. The firſt who ſtepped forward, was a beautiful and blooming hero, and as I heard by the murmurs round me, Alexander the Great. He was conducted by a crowd of hiſtorians. The perſon, who immediately walked before him, was remarkable for an embroidered garment, who not being well acquainted with the place, was conducting him to an apartment appointed for the reception of fabulous heroes. The name of this falſe guide was Quintus Curtius. But Arrian and Plutarch, who knew better the avenues of this palace, conducted him into the great hall, and placed him at the upper end of the firſt table. My good Dæmon, that I might ſee the whole ceremony, conveyed me to a corner of this room, where I might perceive all that paſſed, without being ſeen myſelf. The next who entered was a charming virgin, leading in a

venerable old man that was blind. Under her left arm ſhe bore a harp, and on her head a garland. Alexander, who was very well acquainted with Homer, ſtood up at his entrance, and placed him on his right-hand. The virgin, who it ſeems was one of the nine ſiſters that attended on the Goddeſs of Fame, ſmiled with an ineffable grace at their meeting, and retired.

Julius Cæſar was now coming forward; and though moſt of the hiſtorians offered their ſervice to introduce him, he left them at the door, and would have no conductor but himſelf.

The next who advanced, was a man of a homely but cheerful aſpect, and attended by perſons of greater figure than any that appeared on this occaſion. Plato was on his right-hand, and Xenophon on his left. He bowed to Homer, and ſat down by him. It was expected that Plato would himſelf have taken a place next to his maſter Socrates; but on a ſudden there was heard a great clamour of diſputants at the door, who appeared with Ariſtotle at the head of them. That philoſopher, with ſome rudeneſs, but great ſtrength of reaſon, convinced the whole table, that a title to the fifth place was his due, and took it accordingly.

He had ſcarce ſat down, when the ſame beautiful virgin that had introduced Homer, brought in another, who hung back at the entrance, and would have excuſed himſelf, had not his modeſty been overcome by the invitation of all who ſat at the table. His guide and behaviour made me eaſily conclude it was Virgil. Cicero next appeared, and took

took his place. He had inquired at the door for one Lucceius to introduce him; but not finding him there, he contented himſelf with the attendance of many other writers, who all, except Salluſt, appeared highly pleaſed with the office.

We waited ſome time in expectation of the next Worthy, who came in with a great retinue of hiſtorians, whoſe names I could not learn, moſt of them being natives of Carthage. The perſon thus conducted, who was Hannibal, ſeemed much diſturbed, and could not forbear complaining to the board, of the affronts he had met with among the Roman hiſtorians, who attempted, ſays he, to carry me into the ſubterraneous apartment; and perhaps would have done it, had it not been for the impartiality of this gentleman, pointing to Polybius, who was the only perſon, except my own countrymen, that was willing to conduct me hither.

The Carthaginian took his ſeat, and Pompey entered with great dignity in his own perſon, and preceded by ſeveral hiſtorians. Lucan the poet was at the head of them, who, obſerving Homer and Virgil at the table, was going to ſit down himſelf, had not the latter whiſpered him, that whatever pretence he might otherwiſe have had, he forfeited his claim to it, by coming in as one of the hiſtorians. Lucan was ſo exaſperated with the repulſe, that he muttered ſomething to himſelf; and was heard to ſay, that ſince he could not have a ſeat among them himſelf, he would bring in one who alone had more merit than their whole aſ-

ſembly: upon which he went to the door, and brought in Cato of Utica. That great man approached the company with ſuch an air, that ſhewed he contemned the honour which he laid a claim to. Obſerving the ſeat oppoſite to Cæſar was vacant, he took poſſeſſion of it, and ſpoke two or three ſmart ſentences upon the nature of precedency, which, according to him, conſiſted not in place, but in intrinſic merit; to which he added, that the moſt virtuous man, wherever he was ſeated, was always at the upper end of the table. Socrates, who had a great ſpirit of raillery with his wiſdom, could not forbear ſmiling at a virtue which took ſo little pains to make itſelf agreeable. Cicero took the occaſion to make a long diſcourſe in praiſe of Cato, which he uttered with much vehemence. Cæſar anſwered him with a great deal of ſeeming temper; but, as I ſtood at a great diſtance from them, I was not able to hear one word of what they ſaid. But I could not forbear taking notice, that in all the diſcourſe which paſſed at the table, a word or nod from Homer decided the controverſy.

After a ſhort pauſe Auguſtus appeared, looking round him, with a ſerene and affable countenance, upon all the writers of his age, who ſtrove among themſelves which of them ſhould ſhew him the greateſt marks of gratitude and reſpect. Virgil roſe from the table to meet him; and though he was an acceptable gueſt to all, he appeared more ſuch to the learned, than the military Worthies. The next man aſtoniſhed the whole table with his appearance; he was ſlow, ſolemn, and ſilent in his behaviour,

behaviour, and wore a raiment curiouſly wrought with hieroglyphicks. As he came into the middle of the room, he threw up the ſkirt of it, and diſcovered a golden thigh. Socrates, at the ſight of it, declared againſt keeping company with any who were not made of fleſh and blood; and therefore deſired Diogenes the Laertian to lead him to the apartment allotted for fabulous Heroes and Worthies of dubious exiſtence. At his going out, he told them, that they did not know whom they diſmiſſed; that he was now Pythagoras, the firſt of philoſophers, and that formerly he had been a very brave man at the ſiege of Troy. That may be very true, ſaid Socrates; but you forget that you have likewiſe been a very great harlot in your time. This excluſion made way for Archimedes, who came forward with a ſcheme of mathematical figures in his hand; among which I obſerved a cone and a cylinder.

Seeing this table full, I deſired my guide, for variety, to lead me to the fabulous apartment, the roof of which was painted with Gorgons, Chimæras, and Centaurs, with many other emblematical figures, which I wanted both time and ſkill to unriddle. The firſt table was almoſt full: at the upper end ſat Hercules leaning an arm upon his club; on his right hand were Achilles and Ulyſſes, and between them Æneas; on his left were Hector, Theſeus, and Jaſon: the lower end had Orpheus, Æſop, Phalaris, and Muſæus. The uſhers ſeemed at a loſs for a twelfth man, when, methought, to my great joy and ſurprize, I heard

ſome at the lower end of the table mention Iſaac Bickerſtaff: but thoſe of the upper end received it with diſdain; and ſaid, if they muſt have a Britiſh worthy, they would have Robin Hood.

THE TATLER. N° 258.

To ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, ESQUIRE*.

SIR, Nov. 22, 1710.

DINING yeſterday with Mr. South-Britiſh and Mr. William North-Briton, two gentlemen, who, before you ordered it otherwiſe, were known by the names of Mr. Engliſh and Mr. William Scot: among other things, the maid of the houſe, who in her time, I believe, may have been a North-Britiſh warming-pan, brought us up a diſh of North-Britiſh collops. We liked our entertainment very well; only we obſerved the table-

* "Steele, the rogue, has done the impudenteſt thing in the "world: he ſaid ſomething in a Tatler, that we ought to uſe the "word Great-Britain, and not England, in common converſation, "as, 'the fineſt lady in Great-Britain,' &c. Upon this, Rowe, "Prior, and I, ſent him a letter, turning this into ridicule. He "has to-day printed the letter, and ſigned it J. S. M. P. and N. R. "the firſt letters of all our names." Journal to Stella, Dec. 2, 1710.—The Dean obſerves, in another place, "The modern phraſe 'Great-"Britain' is only to diſtinguiſh it from Little-Britain, where old "cloaths and old books are to be bought and ſold." Letter to Alderman Barber, Aug. 8, 1738.

cloth,

cloth, being not ſo fine as we could have wiſhed, was North-Britiſh cloth. But the worſt of it was, we were diſturbed all dinner-time by the noiſe of the children, who were playing in the paved court at North-Britiſh hoppers; ſo we paid our North-Briton ſooner than we deſigned, and took coach to North-Britain yard, about which place moſt of us live. We had indeed gone a-foot; only we were under ſome apprehenſions, leſt a North-Britiſh miſt ſhould wet a South-Britiſh man to the ſkin.—We think this matter properly expreſſed, according to the accuracy of the new ſtyle, ſettled by you in one of your late papers. You will pleaſe to give your opinion upon it to, Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervants,

J. S. M. P. N. R.

THE TATLER*. N°. 5.

—— Laceratque, trahitque
Molle pecus.—— VIRG.

From Tueſday, Jan. 23, to Saturday, Jan. 27, 1710.

AMONG other ſervices I have met with from ſome criticks, the crueleſt for an old man is, that they will not let me be at quiet in my bed, but purſue me to my very dreams. I muſt not dream

* N. B. The two following Tatlers are not in the four volumes publiſhed by Sir Richard Steele.

but

but when they pleaſe, nor upon long continued ſubjects, however viſionary in their own natures, becauſe there is a manifeſt moral quite through them, which to produce as a dream is improbable and unnatural. The pain I might have had from this objection, is prevented, by conſidering they have miſſed another, againſt which I ſhould have been at a loſs to defend myſelf. They might have aſked me, whether the dreams I publiſh can properly be called lucubrations, which is the name I have given to all my papers, whether in volumes or half-ſheets: ſo manifeſt a contradiction *in terminis*, that I wonder no ſophiſter ever thought of it. But the other is a cavil. I remember, when I was a boy at ſchool, I have often dreamed out the whole paſſages of a day; that I rode a journey, baited, ſupped, went to bed, and roſe next morning: and I have known young ladies, who could dream a whole contexture of adventures in one night, large enough to make a novel. In youth the imagination is ſtrong, not mixed with cares, nor tinged with thoſe paſſions that moſt diſturb and confound it: ſuch as avarice, ambition, and many others. Now, as old men are ſaid to grow children again, ſo in this article of dreaming, I am returned to my childhood. My imagination is at full eaſe, without care, avarice, or ambition to clog it; by which, among many others, I have this advantage of doubling the ſmall remainder of my time, and living four and twenty hours in the day. However, the dream I am going now to relate, is as wild as can well be imagined, and adapted to

to pleaſe theſe refiners upon ſleep, without any moral that I can diſcover.

" It happened, that my maid left on the table " in my bed-chamber one of her ſtory-books (as " ſhe calls them) which I took up, and found full " of ſtrange impertinence, fitted to her taſte and " condition; of poor ſervants who came to be la- " dies, and ſerving-men of low degree who mar- " ried kings daughters. Among other things, I " met this ſage obſervation, That a lion would " never hurt a true virgin. With this medley of " nonſenſe in my fancy, I went to bed, and " dreamed that a friend waked me in the morning, " and propoſed for paſtime to ſpend a few hours " in ſeeing the pariſh lions, which he had not " done ſince he came to town; and becauſe they " ſhewed but once a week, he would not miſs the " opportunity. I ſaid I would humour him; al- " though, to ſpeak the truth, I was not fond of " thoſe cruel ſpectacles; and, if it were not ſo an- " tient a cuſtom, founded (as I had heard) upon " the wiſeſt maxims, I ſhould be apt to cenſure " the inhumanity of thoſe who introduced it." All this will be a riddle to the waking reader, until I diſcover the ſcene my imagination had formed, upon the maxim, That a lion would never hurt a true virgin. " I dreamed, that by a law of imme- " morial time, a he-lion was kept in every pariſh " at the common charge, and in a place provided " adjoining to the church-yard; that before any " one of the fair ſex was married, if ſhe affirmed

" herſelf

" herſelf to be a virgin, ſhe muſt on her wedding
" day, and in her wedding cloaths, perform the
" ceremony of going alone into the den, and ſtay
" an hour with the lion, let looſe and kept faſting
" four and twenty hours on purpoſe. At a proper
" height above the den were convenient galleries
" for the relations and friends of the young couple,
" and open to all ſpectators. No maiden was
" forced to offer herſelf to the lion; but, if ſhe
" refuſed, it was a diſgrace to marry her, and
" every one might have liberty of calling her a
" whore. And methought it was as uſual a diver-
" ſion to ſee the pariſh lions, as with us to go to
" a play or an opera. And it was reckoned con-
" venient to be near the church, either for marry-
" ing the virgin, if ſhe eſcaped the trial, or for
" burying her bones, when the lion had devoured
" the reſt, as he conſtantly did."

To go on therefore with the dream: " We called
" firſt (as I remember) to ſee St. Dunſtan's lion:
" but we were told, they did not ſhew to-day.
" From thence we went to that of Covent-garden,
" which, to my great ſurprize, we found as lean
" as a ſkeleton, when I expected quite the con-
" trary; but the keeper ſaid it was no wonder at
" all, becauſe the poor beaſt had not got an ounce
" of woman's fleſh ſince he came into the pariſh.
" This amazed me more than the other, and I was
" forming to myſelf a mighty veneration for the
" ladies in that quarter of the town; when the
" keeper went on, and ſaid he wondered the pa-
" riſh would be at the charge of maintaining a

" lion

" lion for nothing. Friend (ſaid I), do you call it " nothing to juſtify the virtue of ſo many ladies; " or has your lion loſt his diſtinguiſhing faculty? " can there be any thing more for the honour of " your pariſh, than that all the ladies married in " your church were pure virgins? That is true " (ſaid he), and the doctor knows it to his ſorrow; " for there has not been a couple married in our " church ſince his worſhip came among us. The " virgins hereabouts are too wiſe to venture the " claws of the lion; and becauſe nobody will " marry them, have all entered into a vow of vir- " ginity; ſo that in proportion we have much the " largeſt nunnery in the whole town. This man- " ner of ladies entering into a vow of virginity, " becauſe they were not virgins, I eaſily conceived; " and my dream told me, that the whole kingdom " was full of nunneries plentifully ſtocked from the " ſame reaſon.

" We went to ſee another lion, where we found " much company met in the gallery. The keeper " told us, we ſhould ſee ſport enough, as he called " it; and in a little time we ſaw a young beautiful " lady put into the den, who walked up towards " the lion with all imaginable ſecurity in her coun- " tenance, and looked ſmiling upon her lover and " friends in the gallery; which I thought nothing " extraordinary, becauſe it was never known that " any lion had been miſtaken. But, however, we " were all diſappointed; for the lion lifted up his " right paw, which was the fatal ſign, and advancing " forward, ſeized her by the arm, and began to

" tear

" tear it. The poor lady gave a terrible ſhriek, " and cried out, ' The lion is juſt, I am no vir- " gin! Oh! Sappho! Sappho!' ſhe could ſay no " more, for the lion gave her the *coup de grace* by " a ſqueeze in the throat, and ſhe expired at his " feet. The keeper dragged away her body, to " feed the animal after the company ſhould be " gone: for the pariſh lions never uſed to eat in " public. After a little pauſe, another lady came " on towards the lion in the ſame manner as the " former. We obſerved the beaſt ſmell her with " diligence. He ſcratched both her hands with " lifting them to his noſe, and laying one of his " claws on her boſom, drew blood; however, he " let her go, and at the ſame time turned from her " with a ſort of contempt, at which ſhe was not a " little mortified, and retired with ſome confuſion " to her friends in the gallery. Methought, the " whole company immediately underſtood the " meaning of this; that the eaſineſs of the lady " had ſuffered her to admit certain imprudent and " dangerous familiarities, bordering too much upon " what is criminal; neither was it ſure whether " the lover then preſent had not ſome ſharers with " him in thoſe freedoms, of which a lady can " never be too ſparing.

" This happened to be an extraordinary day; " for a third lady came into the den, laughing " loud, playing with her fan, toſſing her head, " and ſmiling round on the young fellows in the " gallery. However, the lion leaped on her with " great fury, and we gave her for gone; but on a

" ſudden

" ſudden he let go his hold, and turned from her " as if he was nauſeated; then gave her a laſh " with his tail; after which ſhe returned to the " gallery, not the leaſt out of countenance: and " this, it ſeems, was the uſual treatment of " coquets.

" I thought we had ſeen enough; but my friend " would needs have us go and viſit one or two " lions in the city. We called at two or three " dens, where they happened not to ſhew; but we " generally found half a ſcore young girls, be- " tween eight and eleven years old, playing with " each lion, ſitting on his back, and putting their " hands into his mouth; ſome of them would now " and then get a ſcratch, but we always diſcovered " upon examining, that they had been hoydening " with the young apprentices. One of them was " calling to a pretty girl about twelve years old, " who ſtood by us in the gallery, to come down " to the lion, and, upon her refuſal, ſaid, 'Ah! " miſs Betty, we could never get you to come near " the lion, ſince you played at hoop and hide with " my brother in the garret.'

" We followed a couple, with the wedding " folks, going to the church of St. Mary-Axe. " The lady, though well ſtricken in years, ex- " tremely crooked and deformed, was dreſſed out " beyond the gaiety of fifteen; having jumbled " together, as I imagined, all the tawdry remains " of aunts, god-mothers, and grandmothers, for " ſome generations paſt. One of the neighbours " whiſpered me, that ſhe was an old maid, and

" had the cleareſt reputation of any in the pariſh.
" There is nothing ſtrange in that, thought I;
" but was much ſurprized when I obſerved after-
" wards, that ſhe went toward the lion with diſ-
" truſt and concern. The beaſt was lying down;
" but, upon ſight of her, ſnuffed up his noſe two
" or three times, and then, giving the ſign of
" death, proceeded inſtantly to execution. In the
" midſt of her agonies, ſhe was heard to name the
" words Italy and artifices with the utmoſt horror,
" and ſeveral repeated execrations, and at laſt con-
" cluded, ' Fool that I was, to put ſo much con-
" fidence in the toughneſs of my ſkin !'

" The keeper immediately ſet all in order again
" for another cuſtomer, which happened to be a
" famous prude, whom her parents, after long
" threatenings and much perſuaſion, had, with the
" extremeſt difficulty, prevailed on to accept a
" young handſome goldſmith, who might have
" pretended to five times her fortune. The fathers
" and mothers in the neighbourhood uſed to quote
" her for an example to their daughters; her el-
" bows were riveted to her ſides, and her whole
" perſon ſo ordered, as to inform every body that
" ſhe was afraid they ſhould touch her. She only
" dreaded to approach the lion, becauſe it was a
" he-one, and abhorred to think a male animal
" ſhould preſume to breathe on her. The ſight of
" a man at twenty yards diſtance made her draw
" back her head. She always ſat upon the farther
" corner of the chair, although there were ſix
" chairs between her and her lover, and with the
" door

" door wide open, and her little ſiſter in the room. " She was never ſaluted but at the tip of the ear; " and her father had much ado to make her dine " without her gloves, when there was a man at " table. She entered the den with ſome fear, " which we took to proceed from the height of " her modeſty, offended at the ſight of ſo many " men in the gallery. The lion, beholding her " at a diſtance, immediately gave the deadly ſign, " at which the poor creature (methinks I ſee her " ſtill!) miſcarried in a fright before us all. The " lion ſeemed to be as much ſurprized as we, and " gave her time to make her confeſſion; 'That ſhe " was five months gone by the foreman of her " father's ſhop, and that this was her third big " belly:' and when her friends aſked, why ſhe " ſhould venture the trial? ſhe ſaid, 'Her nurſe " told her, that a lion would never hurt a woman " with child." Upon this I immediately awaked, and could not help wiſhing, that the deputy cenſors of my late inſtitution, were endued with the ſame inſtinct as theſe pariſh lions.

THE TATLER. N° 20.

Ingenuas didiciſſe fideliter artes
Emollit mores. OVID.

From Sat. March 3, to Tueſ. March 6, 1710.

From my own Apartment in Channel-row, MARCH 5.

THOSE inferior duties of life, which the French call *les petites morales*, or the ſmaller morals, are with us diſtinguiſhed by the name of good-manners or breeding. This I look upon, in the general notion of it, to be a ſort of artificial good ſenſe, adapted to the meaneſt capacities, and introduced to make mankind eaſy in their commerce with each other. Low and little underſtandings, without ſome rules of this kind, would be perpetually wandering into a thouſand indecencies and irregularities in behaviour; and in their ordinary converſation, fall into the ſame boiſterous familiarities, that one obſerves among them when a debauch has quite taken away the uſe of their reaſon. In other inſtances it is odd to conſider, that for want of common diſcretion, the very end of good-breeding is wholly perverted; and civility, intended to make us eaſy, is employed in laying chains and fetters upon us, in debarring us of our wiſhes, and in croſſing our moſt reaſonable deſires and inclinations. This abuſe reigns chiefly in the country, as I found to my vexation, when I was laſt there, in

in a viſit I made to a neighbour about two miles from my couſin. As ſoon as I entered the parlour, they put me into the great chair that ſtood cloſe by a huge fire, and kept me there by force until I was almoſt ſtifled. Then a boy came in great hurry to pull off my boots, which I in vain oppoſed, urging that I muſt return ſoon after dinner. In the mean time, the good lady whiſpered her eldeſt daughter, and ſlipped a key into her hand; the girl returned inſtantly with a beer-glaſs half full of *aqua mirabilis* and ſyrup of gillyflowers. I took as much as I had a mind for, but madam vowed I ſhould drink it off; for ſhe was ſure it would do me good after coming out of the cold air; and I was forced to obey, which abſolutely took away my ſtomach. When dinner came in, I had a mind to ſit at a diſtance from the fire; but they told me it was as much as my life was worth, and ſet me with my back juſt againſt it. Although my appetite was quite gone, I was reſolved to force down as much as I could, and deſired the leg of a pullet. "Indeed, Mr. Bickerſtaff (ſays the lady), "you muſt eat a wing, to oblige me;" and ſo put a couple upon my plate. I was perſecuted at this rate during the whole meal; as often as I called for ſmall beer, the maſter tipped the wink, and the ſervant brought me a brimmer of October. Some time after dinner, I ordered my couſin's man, who came with me, to get ready the horſes; but it was reſolved I ſhould not ſtir that night; and when I ſeemed pretty much bent upon going, they ordered the ſtable door to be locked, and the

children hid my cloak and boots. The next queſtion was, What would I have for ſupper? I ſaid, I never eat any thing at night: but was at laſt, in my own defence, obliged to name the firſt thing that came into my head. After three hours ſpent chiefly in apologies for my entertainment, inſinuating to me, "That this was the worſt time of the "year for proviſions; that they were at a great "diſtance from any market; that they were afraid "I ſhould be ſtarved; and that they knew they "kept me to my loſs;" the lady went, and left me to her huſband; for they took ſpecial care I ſhould never be alone. As ſoon as her back was turned, the little miſſes ran backwards and forwards every moment, and conſtantly as they came in, or went out, made a courteſy directly at me, which, in good manners, I was forced to return with a bow, and Your humble ſervant, pretty miſs. Exactly at eight the mother came up, and diſcovered, by the redneſs of her face, that ſupper was not far off. It was twice as large as the dinner, and my perſecution doubled in proportion. I deſired at my uſual hour to go to my repoſe, and was conducted to my chamber by the gentleman, his lady, and the whole train of children. They importuned me to drink ſomething before I went to bed; and, upon my refuſing, at laſt left a bottle of ſtingo as they called it, for fear I ſhould wake and be thirſty in the night. I was forced in the morning to riſe and dreſs myſelf in the dark, becauſe they would not ſuffer my kinſman's ſervant to diſturb me at the hour I deſired to be called. I was now reſolved

to break through all meaſures to get away; and, after ſitting down to a monſtrous breakfaſt of cold beef, mutton, neats tongues, veniſon paſty, and ſtale beer, took leave of the family. But the gentleman would needs ſee me part of the way, and carry me a ſhort cut through his own ground, which he told me would ſave half a mile's riding. This laſt piece of civility had like to have coſt me dear, being once or twice in danger of my neck by leaping over his ditches, and at laſt forced to alight in the dirt, when my horſe, having ſlipped his bridle, ran away, and took us up more than an hour to recover him again.

It is evident, that none of the abſurdities I met with in this viſit proceeded from an ill intention, but from a wrong judgment of complaiſance, and a miſapplication in the rules of it. I cannot ſo eaſily excuſe the more refined criticks upon behaviour, who, having profeſſed no other ſtudy, are yet infinitely defective in the moſt material parts of it. Ned Faſhion has been bred all his life about court, and underſtands to a tittle all the punctilios of a drawing-room. He viſits moſt of the fine women near St. James's, and upon every occaſion, ſays the civileſt and ſofteſt things to them of any breathing. To Mr. Iſaac * he owes an eaſy ſlide in his bow, and a graceful manner of coming into a room: but, in ſome other caſes, he is very far from being a well-bred perſon. He laughs at men of far ſuperior underſtanding to his own, for

* A famous dancing-maſter in thoſe days.

not being as well dreſſed as himſelf; deſpiſes all his acquaintance who are not of quality, and in public places has, on that account, often avoided taking notice of ſome among the beſt ſpeakers of the houſe of commons. He rails ſtrenuouſly at both univerſities before the members of either; and is never heard to ſwear an oath, or break in upon religion and morality, except in the company of divines. On the other hand, a man of right ſenſe has all the eſſentials of good-breeding, although he may be wanting in the forms of it. Horatio has ſpent moſt of his time at Oxford: he has a great deal of learning, an agreeable wit, and as much modeſty as may ſerve to adorn, without concealing, his other good qualities. In that retired way of living, he ſeems to have formed a notion of human nature, as he has found it deſcribed in the writings of the greateſt men, not as he is likely to meet with it in the common courſe of life. Hence it is that he gives no offence, but converſes with great deference, candor, and humanity. His bow, I muſt confeſs, is ſomewhat aukward; but then he has an extenſive, univerſal, and unaffected knowledge, which may, perhaps, a little excuſe him. He would make no extraordinary figure at a ball; but I can aſſure the ladies, in his behalf, and for their own conſolation, that he has writ better verſes on the ſex than any man now living, and is preparing ſuch a poem for the preſs, as will tranſmit their praiſes, and his own, to many generations.

THE

THE TATLER. N° 24.*

O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena noſtri
(Quod nunquam veriti ſumus) ut poſſeſſor agelli
Diceret, Hæc mea ſunt, veteres migrate coloni.

VIRG.

Thurſday, March 15, 1710.

From my own Apartment in Channel-Row, MARCH 14.

THE dignity and diſtinction of men of wit is ſeldom enough conſidered, either by themſelves or others; their own behaviour, and the uſage they meet with, being generally very much of a piece. I have at this time in my hands an alphabetical liſt of the *beaux eſprits* about this town, four or five of whom have made the proper uſe of their genius, by gaining the eſteem of the beſt and greateſt men, and by turning it to their own advantage in ſome eſtabliſhment of their fortunes, however unequal to their merit; others, ſatisfying themſelves with the honour of having acceſs to great tables, and of being ſubject to the call of every man of quality, who upon occaſion wants one to ſay witty things for the diverſion of the company. This treatment never moves my indignation ſo much as when it is practiſed by a perſon, who though he owes his own riſe purely to

* "Little Harriſon came to me, and begged me to dictate a "paper to him; which I was forced in charity to do." Journal to Stella, March 14. N.

the reputation of his parts, yet appears to be as much aſhamed of it, as a rich city knight to be denominated from the trade he was firſt apprenticed to; and affects the air of a man born to his titles, and conſequently above the character of a wit, or a ſcholar. If thoſe who poſſeſs great endowments of the mind would ſet a juſt value upon themſelves, they would think no man's acquaintance whatſoever a condeſcenſion, nor accept it from the greateſt upon unworthy or ignominious terms. I know a certain lord, that has often invited a ſet of people, and propoſed for their diverſion a buffoon player, and an eminent poet, to be of the party; and, which was yet worſe, thought them both ſufficiently recompenſed by the dinner, and the honour of his company. This kind of inſolence is riſen to ſuch a height, that I myſelf was the other day ſent to by a man with a title, whom I had never ſeen, deſiring the favour that I would dine with him and half a dozen of his ſelect friends. I found afterwards, the footman had told my maid below ſtairs, that my lord, having a mind to be merry, had reſolved right or wrong to ſend for honeſt Iſaac. I was ſufficiently provoked with the meſſage; however, I gave the fellow no other anſwer, than that "I believed he had miſtaken the perſon, for I did "not remember that his lord had ever been intro-"duced to me." I have reaſon to apprehend that this abuſe has been owing rather to a meanneſs of ſpirit in men of parts, than to the natural pride or ignorance of their patrons. Young ſtudents, coming up to town from the places of their education, are

are dazzled with the grandeur they every where meet; and making too much haſte to diſtinguiſh their parts, inſtead of waiting to be deſired and careſſed, are ready to pay their court at any rate to a great man, whoſe name they have ſeen in a public paper, or the frontiſpiece of a dedication. It has not always been thus; wit in polite ages has ever begot either eſteem or fear: the hopes of being celebrated, or the dread of being ſtigmatized, procured a univerſal reſpect and awe for the perſons of ſuch as were allowed to have the power of diſtributing fame or infamy where they pleaſed. Aretine had all the princes of Europe his tributaries: and when any of them had committed a folly that laid them open to his cenſure, they were forced by ſome preſent extraordinary to compound for his ſilence; of which there is a famous inſtance on record. When Charles the Fifth had miſcarried in his African expedition, which was looked upon as the weakeſt undertaking of that great emperor, he ſent Aretine a gold chain, who made ſome difficulty of accepting it, ſaying, "It was too ſmall "a preſent in all reaſon for ſo great a folly." For my own part, in this point I differ from him; and never could be prevailed upon, by any valuable conſideration, to conceal a fault or a folly, ſince I firſt took the cenſorſhip upon me.

THE TATLER. N° 230.

Tuesday, September 28, 1710.

From my own Apartment, SEPTEMBER 27.

THE following letter has laid before me many great and manifeſt evils in the world of letters, which I had overlooked; but it opens to me a very buſy ſcene, and it will require no ſmall care and application to amend errors, which are become ſo univerſal. The affectation of politeneſs is expoſed in this epiſtle with a great deal of wit and diſcernment; ſo that, whatever diſcourſes I may fall into hereafter upon the ſubject the writer treats of, I ſhall at preſent lay the matter before the world without the leaſt alteration from the words of my correſpondent.

To ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Eſq.

SIR,

" THERE are ſome abuſes among us of great " conſequence, the reformation of which is pro- " perly your province; although, as far as I have " been converſant in your papers, you have not " yet conſidered them. Theſe are, the deplorable " ignorance that for ſome years has reigned among

" our

" our Engliſh writers, the great depravity of our " taſte, and the continual corruption of our ſtyle. " I ſay nothing here of thoſe who handle parti- " cular ſciences, divinity, law, phyſick, and the " like; I mean the traders in hiſtory, and poli- " ticks, and the *Belles Lettres*, together with thoſe " by whom books are not tranſlated, but (as the " common expreſſions are) done out of French, " Latin, or other languages, and made Engliſh. I " cannot but obſerve to you, that, until of late " years, a Grub-ſtreet book was always bound in " ſheep-ſkin, with ſuitable print and paper, the " price never above a ſhilling, and taken off wholly " by common tradeſmen or country pedlars; but " now they appear in all ſizes and ſhapes, and in " all places; they are handed about from lapfuls in " every coffee-houſe to perſons of quality; are " ſhewn in Weſtminſter-hall and the Court of Re- " queſts; you may ſee them gilt, and in royal " paper, of five or ſix hundred pages, and rated " accordingly. I would engage to furniſh you " with a catalogue of Engliſh books, publiſhed " within the compaſs of ſeven years paſt, which " at the firſt hand would coſt you a hundred " pounds, wherein you ſhall not be able to find " ten lines together of common grammar, or com- " mon ſenſe.

" Theſe two evils, ignorance and want of taſte, " have produced a third, I mean the continual " corruption of our Engliſh tongue, which, with- " out ſome timely remedy, will ſuffer more by the " falſe refinements of twenty years paſt, than it

" has

" has been improved in the foregoing hundred.
" And this is what I deſign chiefly to enlarge
" upon, leaving the former evils to your animad-
" verſion.

" But, inſtead of giving you a liſt of the late
" refinements crept into our language, I here ſend
" you a copy of a letter I received ſome time ago
" from a moſt accompliſhed perſon in this way of
" writing, upon which I ſhall make ſome remarks.
" It is in theſe terms;

SIR,

I cou'dn't *get the things you ſent for all* about town.—*I* tho't *to* ha' *come down myſelf, and then* I'd ha' bro't 'um; *but* ha'nt don't, *and I believe I* can't do't, *that's* pozz.—Tom *begins to* g'imſelf *airs, becauſe* he's *going with the* plenipo's.—*'Tis ſaid the French king will* bamboozel us agen, *which* cauſes many ſpeculations. *The* Jacks, *and others of that* kidney, *are verry* uppiſh *and* alert upon't, *as you may ſee by their* phizz's.—Will Hazard *has got the* hipps, *having loſt* to the tune of *five hundr'd pound,* tho' *he underſtands play very well,* no body better. *He has* promis't *me upon* Rep *to leave off play; but you know 'tis a weakneſs* he's *too apt to* give into, tho' *he has as much wit as any man,* no body more: *he has lain* incog *ever ſince.—The* mob's *very quiet with us now.—I believe you* tho't *I* banter'd *you in my laſt like a* country put.—*I* ſhan't *leave town this month,* &c.

" This

" This letter is, in every point, an admirable " pattern of the preſent polite way of writing; nor " is it of leſs authority for being an epiſtle: you " may gather every flower of it, with a thouſand " more of equal ſweetneſs, from the books, pam- " phlets, and ſingle papers, offered us every day " in the coffee-houſes. And theſe are the beauties " introduced to ſupply the want of wit, ſenſe, hu- " mour, and learning, which formerly were look- " ed upon as qualifications for a writer. If a man " of wit, who died forty years ago, were to riſe " from the grave on purpoſe, how would he be " able to read this letter? and after he had gone " through that difficulty, how would he be able to " underſtand it? The firſt thing that ſtrikes your " eye, is the breaks at the end of almoſt every ſen- " tence; of which I know not the uſe, only that " it is a refinement, and very frequently practiſed. " Then you will obſerve the abbreviations and eli- " ſions, by which conſonants of moſt obdurate " ſounds are joined together without one ſoften- " ing vowel to intervene: and all this only to " make one ſyllable of two, directly contrary to " the example of the Greeks and Romans; alto- " gether of the Gothic ſtrain, and of a natural ten- " dency towards relapſing into barbarity, which " delights in monoſyllables, and uniting of mute " conſonants, as it is obſervable in all the Northern " languages. And this is ſtill more viſible in the " next refinement, which conſiſts in pronouncing " the firſt ſyllable in a word that has many, and " diſmiſſing the reſt; ſuch as phizz, hipps, mobb,

" pozz, rep, and many more; when we are al-
" ready overloaded with monoſyllables, which are
" the diſgrace of our language. Thus we cram
" one ſyllable, and cut off the reſt; as the owl
" fattened her mice after ſhe had bit off their legs, to
" prevent them from running away; and if ours
" be the ſame reaſon for maiming words, it will
" certainly anſwer the end; for I am ſure no
" other nation will deſire to borrow them. Some
" words are hitherto but fairly ſplit, and therefore
" only in their way to perfection, as incog. and
" plenipo; but in a ſhort time, it is to be hoped,
" they will be further docked to inc. and plen.
" This reflection has made me of late years very
" impatient for a peace, which I believe would
" ſave the lives of many brave words as well as men.
" The war has introduced abundance of polyſylla-
" bles, which will never be able to live many more
" campaigns. Speculations, operations, prelimi-
" naries, ambaſſadors, paliſadoes, communications,
" circumvallations, battalions, as numerous as they
" are, if they attack us too frequently in our coffee-
" houſes, we ſhall certainly put them to flight, and
" cut off the rear.

" The third refinement obſervable in the letter
" I ſend you, conſiſts in the choice of certain
" words invented by ſome pretty fellows, ſuch as
" banter, bamboozle, country-put, and kidney,
" as it is there applied; ſome of which are now
" ſtruggling for the vogue, and others are in poſ-
" ſeſſion of it. I have done my utmoſt for ſome
" years paſt to ſtop the progreſs of mob and banter,

" but

" but have been plainly borne down by numbers,
" and betrayed by thoſe who promiſed to aſſiſt
" me.

" In the laſt place, you are to take notice of cer-
" tain choice phraſes ſcattered through the letter;
" ſome of them tolerable enough, till they were
" worn to rags by ſervile imitators. You might
" eaſily find them, although they were not in a
" different print, and therefore I need not diſturb
" them.

" Theſe are the falſe refinements in our ſtyle,
" which you ought to correct: firſt, by arguments
" and fair means; but if thoſe fail, I think you
" are to make uſe of your authority as cenſor,
" and by an annual *index expurgatorius* expunge
" all words and phraſes that are offenſive to good
" ſenſe, and condemn thoſe barbarous mutilations
" of vowels and ſyllables. In this laſt point the
" uſual pretence is, that they ſpell as they ſpeak: a
" noble ſtandard for language! to depend upon
" the caprice of every coxcomb, who, becauſe
" words are the cloathing of our thoughts, cuts
" them out and ſhapes them as he pleaſes, and
" changes them oftener than his dreſs. I believe
" all reaſonable people would be content, that ſuch
" refiners were more ſparing of their words, and
" liberal in their ſyllables. On this head I ſhould
" be glad you would beſtow ſome advice upon ſe-
" veral young readers in our churches, who,
" coming up from the univerſity full fraught with
" admiration of our town politeneſs, will needs
" correct the ſtyle of our prayer-books. In read-

" ing the abſolution, they are very careful to ſay
" pardons and abſolves, and in the prayer for the
" royal family it muſt be endue'um, enrich'um,
" proſper'um, and bring'um; then in their ſer-
" mons they uſe all the modern terms of art,
" ſham, banter, mob, bubble, bully, cutting, ſhuf-
" fling, and palming; all which, and many more
" of the like ſtamp, as I have heard them often in
" the pulpit from ſome young ſophiſters, ſo I have
" read them in ſome of thoſe ſermons that have
" made a great noiſe of late. The deſign, it ſeems,
" is to avoid the dreadful imputation of pedantry;
" to ſhew us that they know the town, underſtand
" men and manners, and have not been poring
" upon old unfaſhionable books in the univer-
" ſity.

" I ſhould be glad to ſee you the inſtrument of
" introducing into our ſtyle that ſimplicity, which
" is the beſt and trueſt ornament of moſt things in
" human life; which the politer ages always aimed
" at in their building and dreſs (*ſimplex munditiis*)
" as well as their productions of wit. It is mani-
" feſt that all new-affected modes of ſpeech, whe-
" ther borrowed from the court, the town, or the
" theatre, are the firſt periſhing parts in any lan-
" guage; and, as I could prove by many hun-
" dred inſtances, have been ſo in ours. The
" writings of Hooker, who was a country clergy-
" man, and of Parſons the jeſuit, both in the reign
" of queen Elizabeth, are in a ſtyle, that, with very
" few allowances, would not offend any preſent
" reader; much more clear and intelligible, than

" thoſe

" thoſe of Sir H. Wotton, Sir Rob. Naunton, Oſ-
" born, Daniel the hiſtorian, and ſeveral others
" who writ later; but being men of the court,
" and affecting the phraſes then in faſhion, they are
" often either not to be underſtood, or appear per-
" fectly ridiculous.

" What remedies are to be applied to theſe evils I
" have not room to conſider, having, I fear, already
" taken up moſt of your paper: beſides, I think
" it is our office only to repreſent abuſes, and yours
" to redreſs them.

I am, with great reſpect,

SIR,

Yours, &c."

in

THE SPECTATOR.

NUMBER L.

Friday, April 27, 1711.

Nunquam aliud Natura, aliud Sapientia dixit.
JUV. Sat. xiv. 321.

Good ſenſe and nature always ſpeak the ſame.

WHEN the four Indian kings were in this country about a twelvemonth ago, I often mixed with the rabble, and followed them a whole day together, being wonderfully ſtruck with the ſight of every thing that is new or uncommon. I have, ſince their departure, employed a friend to make many inquiries of their landlord the upholſterer, relating to their manners and converſation, as alſo concerning the remarks which they made in this country: for, next to forming a right notion of ſuch ſtrangers, I ſhould be deſirous of learning what ideas they have conceived of us.

The upholſterer, finding my friend very inquiſitive about theſe his lodgers, brought him ſome time ſince a little bundle of papers, which he aſſured him were written by king Sa Ga Yean Qua Raſh Tow, and as he ſuppoſes, left behind by ſome miſtake. Theſe papers are now tranſlated, and contain abundance

of very odd obſervations, which I find this little fraternity of kings made during their ſtay in the iſle of Great-Britain. I ſhall preſent my reader with a ſhort ſpecimen of them in this paper, and may perhaps communicate more to him hereafter. In the article of London are the following words, which without doubt are meant of the church of St. Paul:

"On the moſt riſing part of the town there "ſtands a huge houſe, big enough to contain the "whole nation of which I am king. Our good "brother E Tow O Koam, king of the Rivers, "is of opinion it was made by the hands of that "great God to whom it is conſecrated. The kings "of Granajah and of the Six Nations believe that it "was created with the earth, and produced on the "ſame day with the ſun and moon. But for my "own part, by the beſt information that I could "get of this matter, I am apt to think that this "prodigious pile was faſhioned into the ſhape it "now bears by ſeveral tools and inſtruments, of "which they have a wonderful variety in this "country. It was probably at firſt a huge miſ-"ſhapen rock that grew upon the top of the hill, "which the natives of the country (after having "cut it into a kind of regular figure) bored and "hollowed with incredible pains and induſtry, till "they had wrought it into all thoſe beautiful vaults "and caverns into which it is divided at this day. "As ſoon as this rock was thus curiouſly ſcooped to "their liking, a prodigious number of hands muſt "have been employed in chipping the outſide of "it, which is now as ſmooth as the ſurface of a

" pebble; and is in ſeveral places hewn out into
" pillars, that ſtand like the trunks of ſo many trees
" bound about the top with garlands of leaves. It
" is probable that when this great work was be-
" gun, which muſt have been many hundred years
" ago, there was ſome religion among this people;
" for they give it the name of a temple, and have
" a tradition that it was deſigned for men to pay
" their devotion in. And indeed there are ſeveral
" reaſons which make us think that the natives of
" this country had formerly among them ſome ſort
" of worſhip; for they ſet apart every ſeventh day
" as ſacred: but, upon my going into one of theſe
" holy houſes on that day, I could not obſerve any
" circumſtance of devotion in their behaviour.
" There was indeed a man in black, who was
" mounted above the reſt, and ſeemed to utter
" ſomething with a great deal of vehemence; but
" as for thoſe underneath him, inſtead of paying
" their worſhip to the deity of the place, they were
" moſt of them bowing and courteſying to one
" another, and a conſiderable number of them faſt
" aſleep.

" The queen of the country appointed two men
" to attend us, that had enough of our language to
" make themſelves underſtood in ſome few parti-
" culars. But we ſoon perceived theſe two were
" great enemies to one another, and did not al-
" ways agree in the ſame ſtory. We could make
" ſhift to gather out of one of them, that this
" iſland was very much infeſted with a monſtrous
" kind of animals, in the ſhape of men, called
" Whigs;

" Whigs; and he often told us, that he hoped we " ſhould meet with none of them in our way, for " that, if we did, they would be apt to knock us " down, for being kings.

" Our other interpreter uſed to talk very much " of a kind of animal called a Tory, that was as " great a monſter as the Whig, and would treat us " ill for being foreigners. Theſe two creatures, it " ſeems, are born with a ſecret antipathy to one " another, and engage when they meet as naturally " as the elephant and the rhinoceros. But, as we " ſaw none of either of theſe ſpecies, we are apt to " think that our guides deceived us with miſrepre- " ſentations and fictions, and amuſed us with an " account of ſuch monſters as are not really in their " country. Theſe particulars we made a ſhift to " pick out from the diſcourſe of our interpreters; " which we put together as well as we could, being " able to underſtand but here and there a word of " what they ſaid, and afterwards making up the " meaning of it among ourſelves. The men of " the country are very cunning and ingenious in " handicraft works, but withal ſo very idle, that " we often ſaw young luſty raw-boned fellows car- " ried up and down the ſtreets in little covered " rooms by a couple of porters, who are hired for " that ſervice. Their dreſs is likewiſe very bar- " barous; for they almoſt ſtrangle themſelves about " the neck, and bind their bodies with many liga- " tures, that we are apt to think are the occaſion of " ſeveral diſtempers among them, which our coun- " try is entirely free from. Inſtead of thoſe beau-

" tiful feathers with which we adorn our heads, " they often buy up a monſtrous buſh of hair, " which covers their heads, and falls down in a " large fleece below the middle of their backs; " with which they walk up and down the ſtreets, " and are as proud of it as if it was of their own " growth.

" We were invited to one of their public diver- " ſions, where we hoped to have ſeen the great " men of their country running down a ſtag, or " pitching a bar, that we might have diſcovered " who were the perſons of the greateſt abilities " among them; but inſtead of that, they conveyed " us into a huge room lighted up with abundance " of candles, where this lazy people ſat ſtill above " three hours, to ſee ſeveral feats of ingenuity " performed by others, who it ſeems were paid " for it.

" As for the women of the country, not being " able to talk with them, we could only make our " remarks upon them at a diſtance. They let the " hair of their heads grow to a great length; but " as the men make a great ſhew with heads of hair " that are none of their own, the women, who " they ſay have very fine heads of hair, tie it up " in a knot, and cover it from being ſeen. The " women look like angels; and would be more " beautiful than the ſun, were it not for little " black ſpots that are apt to break out in their " faces, and ſometimes riſe in very odd figures. I " have obſerved that thoſe little blemiſhes wear " off very ſoon; but when they diſappear in one

" part

" part of the face, they are very apt to break out " in another, inſomuch that I have ſeen a ſpot up- " on the forehead in the afternoon, which was up- " on the chin in the morning."

The author then proceeds to ſhew the abſurdity of breeches and petticoats; with many other curious obſervations, which I ſhall reſerve for another occaſion. I cannot however conclude this paper without taking notice, That amidſt theſe wild remarks there now and then appears ſomething very reaſonable. I cannot likewiſe forbear obſerving, that we are all guilty in ſome meaſure of the ſame narrow way of thinking, which we meet with in this abſtract of the Indian journal, when we fancy the cuſtoms, dreſſes, and manners of other countries are ridiculous and extravagant, if they do not reſemble thoſe of our own.

THE INTELLIGENCER.

NUMBER I.

IT may be ſaid, without offence to other cities of much greater conſequence to the world, that our town of Dublin does not want its due proportion of folly and vice, both native and imported; and as to thoſe imported, we have the advantage to receive them laſt, and conſequently, after our happy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

But, becauſe there are many effects of folly and vice among us, whereof ſome are general, others confined to ſmaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few individuals; there is a ſociety lately eſtabliſhed, who at great expence have erected an office of intelligence, from which they are to receive weekly information of all important events and ſingularities, which this famous metropolis can furniſh. Strict injunctions are given to have the trueſt information; in order to which, certain qualified perſons are employed to attend upon duty in their ſeveral poſts; ſome at the play-houſe, others in churches; ſome at balls, aſſemblies, coffee-houſes, and meetings for quadrille; ſome at the ſeveral courts of juſtice, both ſpiritual and temporal; ſome at the college, ſome upon my lord mayor and alder-

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men in their public affairs; laſtly, ſome to converſe with favourite chamber-maids, and to frequent thoſe ale-houſes and brandy-ſhops where the foot-men of great families meet in a morning; only the barracks and parliament-houſe are excepted; becauſe we have yet found no *enfans perdus* bold enough to venture their perſons at either. Out of theſe and ſome other ſtore-houſes, we hope to gather materials enough to inform, or divert, or correct, or vex the town.

But as facts, paſſages, and adventures of all kinds are likely to have the greateſt ſhare in our paper, whereof we cannot always anſwer for the truth; due care ſhall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all juſt offence will be removed; for if none be guilty, none will have cauſe to bluſh or be angry; if otherwiſe, then the guilty perſon is ſafe for the future upon his preſent amendment, and ſafe for the preſent from all but his own conſcience.

There is another reſolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general diſcontent, and is of ſo ſingular a nature that I have hardly confidence enough to mention it, although it be abſolutely neceſſary by way of apology for ſo bold and unpopular an attempt. But ſo it is, that we have taken a deſperate counſel, to produce into the world every diſtinguiſhed action either of juſtice, prudence, generoſity, charity, friendſhip, or public ſpirit, which comes well atteſted to us. And although we ſhall neither here be ſo daring as to aſſign names, yet we ſhall hardly forbear to give

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ſome hints, that perhaps, to the great diſpleaſure of ſuch deſerving perſons, may endanger a diſcovery. For we think that even virtue itſelf ſhould ſubmit to ſuch a mortification, as by its viſibility and example will render it more uſeful to the world. But however, the readers of theſe papers need not be in pain of being overcharged with ſo dull and ungrateful a ſubject. And yet who knows, but ſuch an occaſion may be offered to us once in a year or two, after we have ſettled a correſpondence round the kingdom?

But, after all our boaſt of materials ſent us by our ſeveral emiſſaries, we may probably ſoon fall ſhort, if the town will not be pleaſed to lend us farther aſſiſtance towards entertaining itſelf. The world beſt knows its own faults and virtues, and whatever is ſent ſhall be faithfully returned back, only a little embelliſhed according to the cuſtom of authors. We do therefore demand and expect continual advertiſements in great numbers to be ſent to the printer of this paper, who has employed a judicious ſecretary, to collect ſuch as may be moſt uſeful for the public.

And although we do not intend to expoſe our own perſons by mentioning names, yet we are ſo far from requiring the ſame caution in our correſpondents, that, on the contrary, we expreſsly charge and command them, in all the facts they ſend us, to ſet down the names, titles, and places of abode at length; together with a very particular deſcription of the perſons, dreſſes, diſpoſitions of the ſeveral lords, ladies, 'ſquires, madams, lawyers, gameſters,

gameſters, toupees, ſots, wits, rakes, and informers, whom they ſhall have occaſion to mention; otherwiſe it will not be poſſible for us to adjuſt our ſtyle to the different qualities and capacities of the perſons concerned, and treat them with the reſpect, or familiarity, that may be due to their ſtations and characters, which we are determined to obſerve with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, that none may have cauſe to complain.

THE INTELLIGENCER. N° 3.

Ipſe per omnes
Ibit perſonas, et turbam reddet in unam.

THE players having now almoſt done with the comedy called the Beggar's Opera for the ſeaſon; it may be no unpleaſant ſpeculation, to reflect a little upon this dramatic piece, ſo ſingular in the ſubject and manner, ſo much an original, and which has frequently given ſo very agreeable an entertainment.

Although an evil taſte be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point, which, whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleaſing a very great majority; ſo great, that the diſlikers out of dulneſs or affectation will be ſilent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean is, what we call humour; which, in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to wit;

wit; if it be not rather the moſt uſeful and agreeable ſpecies of it.

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our Engliſh tongue; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itſelf is peculiar to the Engliſh nation, becauſe the contrary may be found in many Spaniſh, Italian, and French productions: and particularly, whoever has a taſte for true humour, will find a hundred inſtances of it in thoſe volumes printed in France under the name of Le Theatre Italien; to ſay nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now I take the comedy, or farce (or whatever name the criticks will allow it) called the Beggar's Opera, to excel in this article of humour; and upon that merit to have met with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs, both here and in England.

As to poetry, eloquence, and muſick, which are ſaid to have moſt power over the minds of men; it is certain that very few have a taſte or judgment of the excellencies of the two former; and if a man ſucceed in either, it is upon the authority of thoſe few judges, that lend their taſte to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in muſick; and that among thoſe who crowd the operas, nine in ten go thither merely out of curioſity, faſhion, or affectation.

But a taſte for humour is in ſome manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar: except upon ſubjects too refined, and ſuperior to their underſtanding.

And,

And, as this taſte of humour is purely natural, ſo is humour itſelf; neither is it a talent confined to men of wit or learning; for we obſerve it ſometimes among common ſervants, and the meaneſt of the people, while the very owners are often ignorant of the gift they poſſeſs.

I know very well, that this happy talent is contemptibly treated by criticks, under the name of low humour, or low comedy; but I know likewiſe that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the moſt wit of any nations in Europe, do moſt excel in it, and do moſt eſteem it.

By what diſpoſition of the mind, what influence of the ſtars, or what ſituation of the climate, this endowment is beſtowed upon mankind, may be a queſtion fit for philoſophers to diſcuſs. It is certainly the beſt ingredient towards that kind of ſatire, which is moſt uſeful, and gives the leaſt offence; which, inſtead of laſhing, laughs men out of their follies and vices; and is the character that gives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And, although ſome things are too ſerious, ſolemn, or ſacred, to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuſes of them are certainly not; ſince it is allowed that corruptions in religion, politicks, and law, may be proper topicks for this kind of ſatire.

There are two ends that men propoſe in writing ſatire: one of them leſs noble than the other, as regarding nothing farther than the private ſatisfaction and pleaſure of the writer; but without any view towards perſonal malice: the other is a public ſpirit, prompting men of genius and virtue to mend the world

world as far as they are able. And as both theſe ends are innocent, ſo the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former, I demand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh, as men have to be ridiculous; and to expoſe vice, as another has to be vicious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a court, a miniſtry, or a ſenate, are they not amply paid by penſions, titles, and power, while I expect and deſire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner? yet, if thoſe who take offence think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the ſcene with them whenever they pleaſe.

But, if my deſign be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at leaſt, I am ſure it is the intereſt of thoſe very courts and miniſters, whoſe follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intentions: for, if it be reckoned a high point of wiſdom to get the laughers on our ſide; it is much more eaſy, as well as wiſe, to get thoſe on our ſide who can make millions laugh when they pleaſe.

My reaſon for mentioning courts and miniſters (whom I never think on but with the moſt profound veneration), is, becauſe an opinion obtains, that in the Beggar's Opera there appears to be ſome reflection upon courtiers and ſtateſmen, whereof I am by no means a judge.

It is true indeed, that Mr. Gay, the author of this piece, has been ſomewhat ſingular in the courſe of his fortunes; for it has happened, that after fourteen years attending the court, with a large ſtock

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of real merit, a modeſt and agreeable converſation, a hundred promiſes, and five hundred friends, he has failed of preferment; and upon a very weighty reaſon. He lay under the ſuſpicion of having written a libel, or lampoon againſt a great * miniſter. It is true, that great miniſter was demonſtratively convinced, and publickly owned his conviction, that Mr. Gay was not the author; but having lain under the ſuſpicion, it ſeemed very juſt that he ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment; becauſe, in this moſt reformed age, the virtues of a prime miniſter are no more to be ſuſpected, than the chaſtity of Cæſar's wife.

It muſt be allowed, that the Beggar's Opera is not the firſt of Mr. Gay's works, wherein he has been faulty with regard to courtiers and ſtateſmen. For, to omit his other pieces, even in his fables, publiſhed within two years paſt, and dedicated to the duke of Cumberland, for which he was promiſed a reward, he has been thought ſomewhat too bold upon the courtiers. And although it be highly probable he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not conſidering that the malignity of ſome people, might miſinterpret what he ſaid to the diſadvantage of preſent perſons and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr. Gay as a politician; and ſhall conſider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he has, by a turn of humour entirely new, placed vices of all

* Sir Robert Walpole.

kinds

kinds in the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious light; and thereby done eminent ſervice both to religion and morality. This appears from the unparalleled ſucceſs he has met with. All ranks, parties, and denominations of men, either crowding to ſee his opera, or reading it with delight in their cloſets; even miniſters of ſtate, whom he is thought to have moſt offended (next to thoſe whom the actors repreſent) appearing frequently at the theatre, from a conſciouſneſs of their own innocence, and to convince the world how unjuſt a parallel, malice, envy, and diſaffection to the government, have made.

I am aſſured that ſeveral worthy clergymen in this city went privately to ſee the Beggar's Opera repreſented; and that the fleering coxcombs in the pit amuſed themſelves with making diſcoveries, and ſpreading the names of thoſe gentlemen round the audience.

I ſhall not pretend to vindicate a clergyman, who would appear openly in his habit at the theatre, with ſuch a vicious crew as might probably ſtand round him, at ſuch comedies and profane tragedies as are often repreſented. Beſides, I know very well, that perſons of their function are bound to avoid the appearance of evil, or of giving cauſe of offence. But when the lords chancellors, who are keepers of the king's conſcience; when the judges of the land, whoſe title is reverend; when ladies, who are bound by the rules of their ſex to the ſtricteſt decency, appear in the theatre without cenſure; I cannot underſtand, why a young clergyman, who comes concealed out of curioſity to

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ſee an innocent and moral play, ſhould be ſo highly condemned: nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who ſaid, "he hoped none of "his clergy were there." I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections againſt that reverend body planted in this city, and I wiſh there never may. But I ſhould be very ſorry that any of them ſhould be ſo weak, as to imitate a court-chaplain in England, who preached againſt the Beggar's Opera, which will probably do more good than a thouſand ſermons of ſo ſtupid, ſo injudicious, and ſo proſtitute a divine.

In this happy performance of Mr. Gay's all the characters are juſt, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It diſcovers the whole ſyſtem of that common-wealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity, eſtabliſhed among us, by which neither our lives nor our properties are ſecure, either in the highways, or in public aſſemblies, or even in our own houſes. It ſhews the miſerable lives, and the conſtant fate, of thoſe abandoned wretches: for how little they ſell their lives and ſouls; betrayed by their whores, their comrades, and the receivers and purchaſers of thoſe thefts and robberies. This comedy contains likewiſe a ſatire, which, without enquiring whether it affects the preſent age, may poſſibly be uſeful in times to come; I mean, where the author takes the occaſion of comparing thoſe common robbers of the publick, and their ſeveral ſtratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other,

to the ſeveral arts of politicians in times of corruption.

This comedy likewiſe expoſes, with great juſtice, that unnatural taſte for Italian muſick among us, which is wholly unſuitable to our northern climate, and the genius of the people, whereby we are over-run with Italian effeminacy, and Italian nonſenſe. An old gentleman ſaid to me, that many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were proſecuted for it, he was ſure it would be the fore-runner of Italian operas and ſingers; and then we ſhould want nothing but ſtabbing, or poiſoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgment, that nothing but ſervile attachment to a party, affectation of ſingularity, lamentable dulneſs, miſtaken zeal, or ſtudied hypocriſy, can have the leaſt reaſonable objection againſt this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. Gay.

THE

THE INTELLIGENCER. N° 19.

Having, on the 12th of October laſt, received a letter, ſigned ANDREW DEALER and PATRICK PENNYLESS, I believe the following PAPER, juſt come to my hands, will be a ſufficient anſwer to it.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

Not for yourſelves, ye ſheep, your fleeces grow.

N. B. In the following diſcourſe, the AUTHOR perſonates a Country Gentleman in the north of Ireland. And this letter is ſuppoſed as directed to the DRAPIER.

SIR,

I AM a country gentleman, and a member of parliament, with an eſtate of about 1400 l. a year; which, as a northern landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were eſteemed to be not above half value; yet, by the intolerable ſcarcity of ſilver, I lie under the greateſt difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buying any thing neceſſary for my family from tradeſmen, who are not able to be long out of their money. But the ſufferings of me, and thoſe of my rank, are trifles in compariſon of what the meaner ſort undergo; ſuch as the buyers and ſellers at fairs and

markets: the ſhopkeepers in every town; and farmers in general; all thoſe who travel with fiſh, poultry, pedlary-ware, and other conveniencies to ſell: but more eſpecially handicrafts-men, who work for us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both theſe kinds of people I am forced to employ until their wages amount to a double piſtole, or a moidore (for we hardly have any gold of lower value left us) to divide it among themſelves as they can: and this is generally done at an ale-houſe, or brandy-ſhop; where, beſide the coſt of getting drunk (which is uſually the caſe) they muſt pay ten pence or a ſhilling for changing their piece into ſilver to ſome huckſtering fellow, who follows that trade. But, what is infinitely worſe, thoſe poor men, for want of due payment, are forced to take up their oatmeal, and other neceſſaries of life, at almoſt double value; and conſequently are not able to diſcharge half their ſcore, eſpecially under the ſcarceneſs of corn for two years paſt, and the melancholy diſappointment of the preſent crop.

The cauſes of this, and a thouſand other evils, are clear and manifeſt to you and all thinking men, although hidden from the vulgar; theſe indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badneſs of ſeaſons; that their goods bear no price, and the poor cannot find work; but their weak reaſonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt borne us by our neighbours and brethren, without the leaſt grounds of provocation; who rejoice at our ſufferings, although

though ſometimes to their own diſadvantage. They conſider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade; that half our revenues are annually ſent to England; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom; which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you, and ſome other lovers of their country have ſo often obſerved, with ſuch good inclinations, and ſo little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumſtances in general, this complaint for the want of ſilver, may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a cut finger, when he is ſtruck with the plague: and yet a poor fellow going to the gallows, may be allowed to feel the ſmart of waſps while he is upon Tyburn-Road. This misfortune is ſo urging and vexatious in every kind of ſmall traffick, and ſo hourly preſſing upon all perſons in the country whatſoever, that a hundred inconveniencies, of perhaps greater moment in themſelves, have been tamely ſubmitted to, with far leſs diſquietude and murmurs. And the caſe ſeems yet the harder, if it be true, what many ſkilful men aſſert, that nothing is more eaſy than a remedy; and, that the want of ſilver, in proportion to the little gold remaining among us, is altogether as unneceſſary, as it is inconvenient. A perſon of diſtinction aſſured me very lately, that, in diſcourſing with the * lord lieutenant before his laſt return to England, his excellency ſaid, "He had

* The Lord Carteret.

" preſſed the matter often, in proper time and " place, and to proper perſons; and could not ſee " any difficulty of the leaſt moment, that could " prevent us from being made eaſy upon this " article."

Whoever carries to England twenty-ſeven Engliſh ſhillings, and brings back one moidore of full weight, is a gainer of nine pence Iriſh: in a guinea, the advantage is three pence; and two pence in a piſtole. The BANKERS, who are generally maſters of all our gold and ſilver, with this advantage, have ſent over as much of the latter as came into their hands. The value of one thouſand moidores in ſilver would thus amount in clear profit to 37 l. 10 s. The ſhopkeepers, and other traders, who go to London to buy goods, followed the ſame practice; by which we have been driven into this inſupportable diſtreſs.

To a common thinker it ſhould ſeem, that nothing would be more eaſy than for the government to redreſs this evil, at any time they ſhall pleaſe. When the value of guineas was lowered in England from 21 s. and 6 d. to only 21 s. the conſequences to this kingdom were obvious, and manifeſt to us all: and a ſober man may be allowed at leaſt to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of coin among us was not then made; much more, why it has never been ſince. It would ſurely require no very profound ſkill in algebra to reduce the difference of nine pence in thirty ſhillings, or three pence in a guinea to leſs than a farthing; and ſo ſmall a fraction could

could be no temptation either to bankers to hazard their ſilver at ſea, or tradeſmen to load themſelves with it in their journies to England. In my humble opinion it would be no unſeaſonable condeſcenſion, if the government would graciouſly pleaſe to ſignify to the poor loyal Proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland, either that this miſerable want of ſilver is not poſſibly to be remedied in any degree by the niceſt ſkill in arithmetick; or elſe, that it does not ſtand with the good pleaſure of England to ſuffer any ſilver at all among us. In the former caſe, it would be madneſs to expect impoſſibilities; and in the other, we muſt ſubmit: for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the CONQUEROR.

The queſtion has been often put in printed papers, by the DRAPIER and others, or perhaps by the ſame WRITER under different ſtyles, why this kingdom ſhould not be permitted to have a mint of its own for the coinage of gold, ſilver, and copper; which is a power exerciſed by many biſhops, and every petty prince, in Germany? But this queſtion has never been anſwered; nor the leaſt application, that I have heard of, made to the crown from hence for the grant of a public mint; although it ſtands upon record, that ſeveral cities, and corporations here, had the liberty of coining ſilver. I can ſee no reaſons, why we alone, of all nations, are thus reſtrained, but ſuch as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the firſt imperial kingdom ſince Nimrod, which ever wanted power to coin their own money.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any ſubject to petition either the prince or the parliament, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a ſubject of Ireland, I profeſs I cannot determine: nor will undertake that the printer ſhall not be proſecuted in a court of juſtice for publiſhing my wiſhes, that a poor ſhopkeeper might be able to change a guinea or a moidore, when a cuſtomer comes for a crown's worth of goods. I have known leſs crimes puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, under the title of diſaffection. And I cannot but approve the wiſdom of the ancients, who, after Aſtrea had fled from the earth, at leaſt took care to provide three upright judges for hell. Mens ears among us are indeed grown ſo nice, that whoever happens to think out of faſhion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not ſo much as complain of the tooth-ach, leſt our weak and buſy dabblers in politicks, ſhould be ready to ſwear againſt him for diſaffection.

There was a method practiſed by Sir Ambroſe Crawley, the great dealer in iron-works, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country, under this great exigence, have not thought fit to imitate. In the ſeveral towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave notes inſtead of money (from two pence to twenty-ſhillings) which paſſed current in all ſhops and markets, as well as in houſes, where meat or drink was ſold. I ſee no reaſon, why the like practice may not be introduced among us with ſome degree of ſucceſs; or,

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at leaſt, may not ſerve as a poor expedient in this our bleſſed age of paper; which, as it diſcharges all our greateſt payments, may be equally uſeful in the ſmaller, and may juſt keep us alive, until an Engliſh act of parliament ſhall forbid it.

I have been told, that among ſome of our pooreſt American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little money among them into halves and quarters, for the conveniencies of ſmall traffick. How happy ſhould we be, in compariſon of our preſent condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the ſheers, for want of a mint, upon our foreign gold, by clipping it into half-crowns, and ſhillings, and even lower denominations; for beggars muſt be content to live upon ſcraps; and it would be our felicity, that theſe ſcraps could never be exported to other countries, while any thing better was left.

If neither of theſe projects will avail, I ſee nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods, like the wild Indians, with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this diſadvantage on our ſide, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is ſent away, without ſo much as a recompence in bugles or glaſs in return.

It muſt needs be a very comfortable circumſtance in the preſent juncture, that ſome thouſand families are gone, are going, or preparing to go from hence, and ſettle themſelves in America: the poorer ſort for want of work; the farmers, whoſe beneficial

ficial bargains are now become a rack-rent too hard to be borne, and thoſe who have any ready-money, or can purchaſe any by the ſale of their goods or leaſes, becauſe they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any money to buy the very neceſſaries of life, are haſtening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, corn among us carries a very high price; but it is for the ſame reaſon, that rats and cats and dead horſes have been often bought for gold in a town beſieged.

There is a perſon of quality in my neighbourhood, who, twenty years ago, when he was juſt come to age, being unexperienced, and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and conſequently, by the riſe of land ſince that time, looked upon his eſtate to be ſet at half value: but numbers of theſe tenants, or their deſcendants, are now offering to ſell their leaſes by cant *, even thoſe which were for lives, ſome of them renewable for ever, and ſome fee-farms, which the landlord himſelf has bought in at half the] price they would have yielded ſeven years ago. And ſome leaſes let at the ſame time for lives, have been given up to him, without any conſideration at all.

This is the moſt favourable face of all things at preſent among us; I ſay, among us of the North, who are eſteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how ſoon, this mi-

* Cant or auction.

ſery

ſery and deſolation may ſpread, it is eaſy to foreſee.

The vaſt ſums of money daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America, have deprived us of our gold in theſe parts, almoſt as much as of our ſilver. And the good wives, who come to our houſes, offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependance lies, for ſo little profit, that it can neither half pay their rents, nor half ſupport their families.

It is remarkable, that this enthuſiaſm ſpread among our Northern people, of ſheltering themſelves in the continent of America, has no other foundation than their preſent inſupportable condition at home. I have made all poſſible enquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from thoſe plantations, ſufficient to make them undertake ſo tedious and hazardous a voyage, in all ſeaſons of the year, and ſo ill accommodated in their ſhips, that many of them have died miſerably in their paſſage, but could never get one ſatisfactory anſwer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a letter to his friend or couſin from thence, inviting him by all means to come over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for ever at a penny an acre. But the truth of the fact is this: the Engliſh eſtabliſhed in thoſe colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them and the wild Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion. We read of ſome barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for

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no other ſervice than to blunt their enemies ſwords, and afterwards to fill up trenches with their dead bodies. And thus our people, who tranſport themſelves, are ſettled into thoſe interjacent tracts, as a ſcreen againſt the inſults of the ſavages; and may have as much lands as they can clear from the woods, at a very reaſonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a hundred years purchaſe by their labour. Now, beſide the fox's reaſon *, which inclines all thoſe who have already ventured thither to repreſent every thing in a falſe light, as well for juſtifying their own conduct, as for getting companions in their miſery, the governing people in thoſe plantations have alſo wiſely provided, that no letters ſhall be ſuffered to paſs from thence hither, without being firſt viewed by the council; by which, our people here, are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally diſcovered ſome months ago by an honeſt man, who, having tranſported himſelf and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of ſuch a voyage, and to diſcourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a truth well known, has produced very little effect; which is no manner of wonder: for, as it is natural to a man in a fever to turn often, al-

* The fox who having loſt his tail, would have perſuaded the reſt to cut off theirs.

though

though without any hope of eaſe; or, when he is purſued, to leap down a precipice, to avoid an enemy juſt at his back; ſo, men in the extremeſt degree of miſery and want, will naturally fly to the firſt appearance of relief, let it be ever ſo vain or viſionary.

You may obſerve, that I have very ſuperficially touched the ſubject I began with, and with the utmoſt caution; for I know how criminal the leaſt complaint has been thought, however ſeaſonable or juſt or honeſtly intended, which has forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at leaſt in my time, be interpreted by innuendo's as a falſe, ſcandalous, ſeditious, and diſaffected action, for a man to roar under an acute fit of the gout; which, beſide the loſs and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, ſo ſeverely afflicted with that diſtemper.

I wiſh you good ſucceſs, but I can promiſe you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up without the leaſt view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but villains and betrayers of their country can be your enemies. Upon which I have little to ſay, having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that ſort; and therefore, as you may eaſily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, SIR,
your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,

County of Down,
Dec. 2, 1728.

A. NORTH.

HINTS

TOWARDS

AN ESSAY

ON

CONVERSATION.

I HAVE obſerved few obvious ſubjects to have been ſo ſeldom, or at leaſt ſo ſlightly handled as this; and indeed I know few ſo difficult, to be treated as it ought, nor yet, upon which, there ſeems ſo much to be ſaid.

Moſt things purſued by men for the happineſs of public or private life, our wit or folly have ſo refined, that they ſeldom ſubſiſt but in idea; a true friend, a good marriage, a perfect form of government, with ſome others, require ſo many ingredients, ſo good in their ſeveral kinds, and ſo much niceneſs in mixing them, that for ſome thouſands of years men have deſpaired of reducing their ſchemes to perfection: but, in converſation, it is, or might be otherwiſe; for here we are only to avoid a multitude of errors, which, although a matter of ſome difficulty, may be in every man's power, for want of which it remains as mere an idea

idea as the other. Therefore it ſeems to me, that the trueſt way to underſtand converſation, is to know the faults and errors to which it is ſubject, and from thence every man to form maxims to himſelf whereby it may be regulated, becauſe it requires few talents to which moſt men are not born, or at leaſt may not acquire, without any great genius or ſtudy. For, nature has left every man a capacity of being agreeable, though not of ſhining in company; and there are a hundred men ſufficiently qualified for both, who, by a very few faults, that they might correct in half an hour, are not ſo much as tolerable.

I was prompted to write my thoughts upon this ſubject by mere indignation, to reflect that ſo uſeful and innocent a pleaſure, ſo fitted for every period and condition of life, and ſo much in all men's power, ſhould be ſo much neglected and abuſed.

And in this diſcourſe it will be neceſſary to note thoſe errors that are obvious, as well as others which are ſeldomer obſerved, ſince there are few ſo obvious, or acknowledged, into which moſt men, ſome time or other, are not apt to run.

For inſtance: Nothing is more generally exploded than the folly of talking too much; yet I rarely remember to have ſeen five people together, where ſome one among them has not been predominant in that kind, to the great conſtraint and diſguſt of all the reſt. But among ſuch as deal in multitudes of words, none are comparable to the ſober deliberate talker, who proceeds with much thought and caution, makes his preface, branches

out into ſeveral digreſſions, finds a hint that puts him in mind of another ſtory, which he promiſes to tell you when this is done; comes back regularly to his ſubject, cannot readily call to mind ſome perſon's name, holding his head, complains of his memory; the whole company all this while in ſuſpence; at length ſays, it is no matter, and ſo goes on. And, to crown the buſineſs, it perhaps proves at laſt a ſtory the company has heard fifty times before; or, at beſt, ſome inſipid adventure of the relater.

Another general fault in converſation, is that of thoſe who affect to talk of themſelves: Some, without any ceremony, will run over the hiſtory of their lives; will relate the annals of their diſeaſes, with the ſeveral ſymptoms and circumſtances of them; will enumerate the hardſhips and injuſtice they have ſuffered in court, in parliament, in love, or in law. Others, are more dextrous, and with great art will lie on the watch to hook in their own praiſe: They will call a witneſs to remember, they always foretold what would happen in ſuch a caſe, but none would believe them; they adviſed ſuch a man from the beginning, and told him the conſequences, juſt as they happened; but he would have his own way. Others, make a vanity of telling their faults; they are the ſtrangeſt men in the world; they cannot diſſemble; they own it is a folly; they have loſt abundance of advantages by it; but if you would give them the world, they cannot help it; there is ſomething in their nature

that

that abhors insincerity and constraint; with many other insufferable topicks of the same altitude.

Of such mighty importance every man is to himself, and ready to think he is so to others; without once making this easy and obvious reflection, that his affairs can have no more weight with other men, than their's have with him; and how little that is, he is sensible enough.

Where company has met, I often have observed two persons discover, by some accident, that they were bred together at the same school or university; after which, the rest are condemned to silence, and to listen while these two are refreshing each other's memory, with the arch tricks and passages of themselves and their comrades.

I know a great officer of the army who will sit for some time with a supercilious and impatient silence, full of anger and contempt for those who are talking; at length of a sudden demand audience, decide the matter in a short dogmatical way; then withdraw within himself again, and vouchsafe to talk no more, until his spirits circulate again to the same point.

There are some faults in conversation, which none are so subject to as the men of wit, nor ever so much as when they are with each other. If they have opened their mouths, without endeavouring to say a witty thing, they think it is so many words lost: it is a torment to the hearers, as much as to themselves, to see them upon the rack for invention, and in perpetual complaint, with so little success. They must do something extraordinary,

in order to acquit themſelves, and anſwer their character, elſe the ſtanders-by may be diſappointed, and be apt to think them only like the reſt of mortals. I have known two men of wit induſtriouſly brought together, in order to entertain the company, where they have made a very ridiculous figure, and provided all the mirth at their own expence.

I know a man of wit, who is never eaſy but where he can be allowed to dictate and preſide; he neither expects to be informed or entertained, but to diſplay his own talents. His buſineſs is to be good company, and not good converſation; and therefore he chooſes to frequent thoſe who are content to liſten, and profeſs themſelves his admirers. And indeed, the worſt converſation I ever remember to have heard in my life, was that at Will's coffee-houſe, where the wits (as they were called) uſed formerly to aſſemble; that is to ſay, five or ſix men, who had writ plays, or at leaſt prologues, or had ſhare in a miſcellany, came thither, and entertained one another with their trifling compoſures, in ſo important an air, as if they had been the nobleſt efforts of human nature, or that the fate of kingdoms depended on them; and they were uſually attended with an humble audience of young ſtudents from the inns of courts, or the univerſities; who, at due diſtance, liſtened to theſe oracles, and returned home with great contempt for their law and philoſophy, their heads filled with traſh, under the name of politeneſs, criticiſm, and belles lettres.

By theſe means, the poets, for many years paſt, were all over-run with pedantry. For, as I take it, the word is not properly uſed; becauſe pedantry is the too frequent or unſeaſonable obtruding our own knowledge in common diſcourſe, and placing too great a value upon it; by which definition, men of the court, or the army, may be as guilty of pedantry, as a philoſopher or a divine; and it is the ſame vice in women, when they are over-copious upon the ſubject of their petticoats, or their fans, or their china. For which reaſon, although it be a piece of prudence, as well as good manners, to put men upon talking on ſubjects they are beſt verſed in, yet that is a liberty a wiſe man could hardly take; becauſe, beſide the imputation of pedantry, it is what he would never improve by.

The great town is uſually provided with ſome player, mimick, or buffoon, who has a general reception at the good tables; familiar and domeſtic with perſons of the firſt quality, and uſually ſent for at every meeting to divert the company; againſt which I have no objection. You go there as to a farce or a puppet-ſhow; your buſineſs is only to laugh in ſeaſon, either out of inclination or civility, while this merry companion is acting his part. It is a buſineſs he has undertaken, and we are to ſuppoſe he is paid for his day's work. I only quarrel, when in ſelect and private meetings, where men of wit and learning are invited to paſs an evening, this jeſter ſhould be admitted to run over his circle of tricks, and make the whole company unfit for

any other converſation, beſide the indignity of confounding mens talents at ſo ſhameful a rate.

Raillery is the fineſt part of converſation; but, as it is our uſual cuſtom to counterfeit and adulterate whatever is too dear for us, ſo we have done with this, and turned it all into what is generally called repartee, or being ſmart; juſt as when an expenſive faſhion comes up, thoſe who are not able to reach it, content themſelves with ſome paltry imitation. It now paſſes for raillery to run a man down in diſcourſe, to put him out of countenance, and make him ridiculous; ſometimes to expoſe the defects of his perſon or underſtanding; on all which occaſions, he is obliged not to be angry, to avoid the imputation of not being able to take a jeſt. It is admirable to obſerve one who is dextrous at this art, ſingling out a weak adverſary, getting the laugh on his ſide, and then carrying all before him. The French, from whence we borrow the word, have a quite different idea of the thing, and ſo had we in the politer age of our fathers. Raillery, was to ſay ſomething that at firſt appeared a reproach or reflection, but, by ſome turn of wit unexpected and ſurpriſing, ended always in a compliment, and to the advantage of the perſon it was addreſſed to. And ſurely one of the beſt rules in converſation is, never to ſay a thing which any of the company can reaſonably wiſh we had rather left unſaid: nor can there any thing be well more contrary to the ends for which people meet together, than to part unſatisfied with each other or themſelves.

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There are two faults in converſation which appear very different, yet ariſe from the ſame root, and are equally blameable; I mean, an impatience to interrupt others; and the uneaſineſs of being interrupted ourſelves. The two chief ends of converſation are to entertain and improve thoſe we are among, or to receive thoſe benefits ourſelves; which whoever will conſider, cannot eaſily run into either of thoſe two errors; becauſe when any man ſpeaks in company, it is to be ſuppoſed he does it for his hearers' ſake, and not his own; ſo that common diſcretion will teach us not to force their attention, if they are not willing to lend it; nor, on the other ſide, to interrupt him who is in poſſeſſion, becauſe that is in the groſſeſt manner to give the preference to our own good ſenſe.

There are ſome people, whoſe good manners will not ſuffer them to interrupt you; but, what is almoſt as bad, will diſcover abundance of impatience, and lie upon the watch until you have done, becauſe they have ſtarted ſomething in their own thoughts, which they long to be delivered of. Mean time, they are ſo far from regarding what paſſes, that their imaginations are wholly turned upon what they have in reſerve, for fear it ſhould ſlip out of their memory; and thus they confine their invention, which might otherwiſe range over a hundred things full as good, and that might be much more naturally introduced.

There is a ſort of rude familiarity, which ſome people, by practiſing among their intimates, have introduced into their general converſation, and

would have it paſs for innocent freedom or humour; which is a dangerous experiment in our northern climate, where all the little decorum and politeneſs we have, are purely forced by art, and are ſo ready to lapſe into barbarity. This, among the Romans, was the raillery of ſlaves, of which we have many inſtances in Plautus. It ſeems to have been introduced among us by Cromwell, who, by preferring the ſcum of the people, made it a court-entertainment, of which I have heard many particulars; and conſidering all things were turned upſide down, it was reaſonable and judicious: although it was a piece of policy found out to ridicule a point of honour in the other extreme, when the ſmalieſt word miſplaced among gentlemen ended in a duel.

There are ſome men excellent at telling a ſtory, and provided with a plentiful ſtock of them, which they can draw out upon occaſion in all companies; and, conſidering how low converſation runs now among us, it is not altogether a contemptible talent; however, it is ſubject to two unavoidable defects, frequent repetition, and being ſoon exhauſted; ſo that whoever values this gift in himſelf, has need of a good memory, and ought frequently to ſhift his company, that he may not diſcover the weakneſs of his fund; for thoſe who are thus endowed, have ſeldom any other revenue, but live upon the main ſtock.

Great ſpeakers in public are ſeldom agreeable in private converſation, whether their faculty be natural, or acquired by practice, and often venturing.

Natural

Natural elocution, although it may ſeem a paradox, uſually ſprings from a barrenneſs of invention, and of words; by which men who have only one ſtock of notions upon every ſubject, and one ſet of phraſes to expreſs them in, they ſwim upon the ſuperficies, and offer themſelves on every occaſion; therefore, men of much learning, and who know the compaſs of a language, are generally the worſt talkers on a ſudden, until much practice has inured and emboldened them; becauſe they are confounded with plenty of matter, variety of notions, and of words, which they cannot readily chooſe, but are perplexed and entangled by too great a choice; which is no diſadvantage in private converſation; where, on the other ſide, the talent of haranguing is, of all others, moſt inſupportable.

Nothing has ſpoiled men more for converſation, than the character of being wits; to ſupport which, they never fail of encouraging a number of followers and admirers, who liſt themſelves in their ſervice, wherein they find their accounts on both ſides, by pleaſing their mutual vanity. This has given the former ſuch an air of ſuperiority, and made the latter ſo pragmatical, that neither of them are well to be endured. I ſay nothing here of the itch of diſpute and contradiction, telling of lies, or of thoſe who are troubled with the diſeaſe called the wandering of the thoughts, ſo that they are never preſent in mind at what paſſes in diſcourſe; for, whoever labours under any of theſe poſſeſſions, is as unfit for converſation as a mad-man in Bedlam.

I think I have gone over moſt of the errors in converſation, that have fallen under my notice or memory, except ſome that are merely perſonal, and others too groſs to need exploding; ſuch as lewd or prophane talk; but I pretend only to treat the errors of converſation in general, and not the ſeveral ſubjects of diſcourſe, which would be infinite. Thus we ſee how human nature is moſt debaſed, by the abuſe of that faculty which is held the great diſtinction between men and brutes; and how little advantage we make of that, which might be the greateſt, the moſt laſting, and the moſt innocent, as well as uſeful pleaſure of life: in default of which, we are forced to take up with thoſe poor amuſements of dreſs and viſiting, or the more pernicious ones of play, drink, and vicious amours; whereby the nobility and gentry of both ſexes are entirely corrupted both in body and mind, and have loſt all notions of love, honour, friendſhip, generoſity; which, under the name of fopperies, have been for ſome time laughed out of doors.

This degeneracy of converſation, with the pernicious conſequences thereof upon our humours and diſpoſitions, has been owing, among other cauſes, to the cuſtom ariſen, for ſome time paſt, of excluding women from any ſhare in our ſociety, farther than in parties at play, or dancing, or in the purſuit of an amour. I take the higheſt period of politeneſs in England (and it is of the ſame date in France) to have been the peaceable part of king Charles the Firſt's reign; and from what

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we read of thoſe times, as well as from the accounts I have formerly met with from ſome who lived in that court, the methods then uſed for raiſing and cultivating converſation were altogether different from ours: ſeveral ladies, whom we find celebrated by the poets of that age, had aſſemblies at their houſes, where perſons of the beſt underſtanding, and of both ſexes, met to paſs the evenings in diſcourſing upon whatever agreeable ſubjects were occaſionally ſtarted; and although we are apt to ridicule the ſublime Platonic notions they had, or perſonated, in love and friendſhip, I conceive their refinements were grounded upon reaſon, and that a little grain of the romance is no ill ingredient to preſerve and exalt the dignity of human nature, without which it is apt to degenerate into every thing that is ſordid, vicious and low. If there were no other uſe in the converſation of ladies, it is ſufficient that it would lay a reſtraint upon thoſe odious topicks of immodeſty and indecencies, into which the rudeneſs of our northern genius is ſo apt to fall. And, therefore, it is obſervable in thoſe ſprightly gentlemen about the town, who are ſo very dextrous at entertaining a vizard maſk in the park or the playhouſe, that, in the company of ladies of virtue and honour, they are ſilent and diſconcerted, and out of their element.

There are ſome people who think they ſufficiently acquit themſelves, and entertain their company, with relating facts of no conſequence, nor at all out of the road of ſuch common incidents as happen every day; and this I have obſerved more

frequently among the Scots than any other nation, who are very careful not to omit the minuteſt circumſtances of time or place; which kind of diſcourſe, if it were not a little relieved by the uncouth terms and phraſes, as well as accent and geſture, peculiar to that country, would be hardly tolerable. It is not a fault in company to talk much; but to continue it long is certainly one; for, if the majority of thoſe who are got together be naturally ſilent or cautious, the converſation will flag, unleſs it be often renewed by one among them, who can ſtart new ſubjects, provided he does not dwell upon them, that leave room for anſwers and replies.

A

LETTER OF ADVICE

TO

A YOUNG POET;

Together with a PROPOSAL for the Encouragement of POETRY in IRELAND.

Sic honor & nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit.—— HOR.

SIR,

AS I have always profeſſed a friendſhip for you, and have therefore been more inquiſitive into your conduct and ſtudies than is uſually agreeable to young men; ſo I muſt own I am not a little pleaſed to find, by your laſt account, that you have entirely bent your thoughts to Engliſh poetry, with deſign to make it your profeſſion and buſineſs. Two reaſons incline me to encourage you in this ſtudy; one, the narrowneſs of your preſent circumſtances; the other, the great uſe of poetry to mankind and ſociety, and in every employment of life. Upon theſe views, I cannot but commend your wiſe reſolution to withdraw ſo early from other unprofitable and ſevere ſtudies, and betake yourſelf to that, which, if you have good luck,

luck, will advance your fortune, and make you an ornament to your friends and your country. It may be your juſtification, and farther encouragement, to conſider, that hiſtory, ancient or modern, cannot furniſh you an inſtance of one perſon, eminent in any ſtation, who was not in ſome meaſure verſed in Poetry, or at leaſt a well-wiſher to the profeſſors of it; neither would I deſpair to prove, if legally called thereto, that it is impoſſible to be a good ſoldier, divine, or lawyer, or even ſo much as an eminent bell-man, or ballad-ſinger, without ſome taſte of poetry, and a competent ſkill in verſification: but I ſay the leſs of this, becauſe the renowned Sir P. Sidney has exhauſted the ſubject before me, in his Defence of Poeſie, on which I ſhall make no other remark but this, that he argues there as if he really believed himſelf.

For my own part, having never made one verſe ſince I was at ſchool, where I ſuffered too much for my blunders in poetry to have any love to it ever ſince, I am not able, from any experience of my own, to give you thoſe inſtructions you deſire; neither will I declare (for I love to conceal my paſſions) how much I lament my neglect of poetry in thoſe periods of my life which were propereſt for improvements in that ornamental part of learning; beſides, my age and infirmities might well excuſe me to you, as being unqualified to be your writing-maſter, with ſpectacles on, and a ſhaking hand. However, that I may not be altogether wanting to you in an affair of ſo much importance to your credit and happineſs, I ſhall here give you

ſome

ſome ſcattered thoughts upon the ſubject, ſuch as I have gathered by reading and obſervation.

There is a certain little inſtrument, the firſt of thoſe in uſe with ſcholars, and the meaneſt, conſidering the materials of it, whether it be a joint of wheaten-ſtraw (the old Arcadian pipe) or juſt three inches of ſlender wire, or a ſtript feather, or a corking pin. Furthermore, this ſame diminutive tool, for the poſture of it, uſually reclines its head on the thumb of the right hand, ſuſtains the foremoſt finger upon its breaſt, and is itſelf ſupported by the ſecond. This is commonly known by the name of a Feſcue; I ſhall here therefore condeſcend to be this little elementary guide, and point out ſome particulars, which may be of uſe to you in your horn-book of poetry.

In the firſt place, I am not yet convinced, that it is at all neceſſary for a modern poet to believe in God, or have any ſerious ſenſe of religion; and in this article you muſt give me leave to ſuſpect your capacity; becauſe, religion being what your mother taught you, you will hardly find it poſſible, at leaſt not eaſy, all at once to get over thoſe early prejudices, ſo far as to think it better to be a great wit, than a good chriſtian, though herein the general practice is againſt you; ſo that if, upon enquiry, you find in yourſelf any ſuch ſoftneſſes, owing to the nature of your education, my advice is, that you forthwith lay down your pen, as having no farther buſineſs with it in the way of poetry; unleſs you will be content to paſs for an inſipid, or will ſubmit to be hooted at by your fraternity, or

can diſguiſe your religion, as well-bred men do their learning, in complaiſance to company.

For, poetry, as it has been managed for ſome years paſt, by ſuch as make a buſineſs of it (and of ſuch only I ſpeak here, for I do not call him a poet that writes for his diverſion, any more than that gentleman a fidler who amuſes himſelf with a violin) I ſay, our poetry of late has been altogether diſengaged from the narrow notions of virtue and piety, becauſe it has been found, by experience of our profeſſors, that the ſmalleſt quantity of religion, like a ſingle drop of malt liquor in claret, will muddy and diſcompoſe the brighteſt poetical genius.

Religion ſuppoſes heaven and hell, the word of God, and ſacraments, and twenty other circumſtances, which, taken ſeriouſly, are a wonderful check to wit and humour, and ſuch as a true poet cannot poſſibly give into, with a ſaving to his poetical licence; but yet it is neceſſary for him, that others ſhould believe thoſe things ſeriouſly, that his wit may be exerciſed on their wiſdom, for ſo doing; for though a wit need not have religion, religion is neceſſary to a wit, as an inſtrument is to the hand that plays upon it: and for this, the moderns plead the example of their great idol Lucretius, who had not been by half ſo eminent a poet (as he truly was) but that he ſtood tip-toe on religion, *Religio pedibus ſubjecta*, and, by that riſing ground, had the advantage of all the poets of his own or following times, who were not mounted on the ſame pedeſtal.

Beſides,

Beſides, it is farther to be obſerved, that Petronius, another of their favourites, ſpeaking of the qualifications of a good poet, inſiſts chiefly on the *liber ſpiritus*; by which I have been ignorant enough heretofore to ſuppoſe he meant, a good invention, or great compaſs of thought, or a ſprightly imagination: but I have learned a better conſtruction, from the opinion and practice of the moderns; and, taking it literally for a free ſpirit, *i. e.* a ſpirit, or mind, free or diſengaged from all prejudices concerning God, religion, and another world, it is to me a plain account why our preſent ſet of poets are, and hold themſelves obliged to be, free-thinkers.

But, although I cannot recommend religion upon the practice of ſome of our moſt eminent Engliſh poets, yet I can juſtly adviſe you, from their example, to be converſant in the ſcriptures, and, if poſſible, to make yourſelf entirely maſter of them; in which, however, I intend nothing leſs than impoſing upon you a taſk of piety. Far be it from me to deſire you to believe them, or lay any great ſtreſs upon their authority; in that you may do as you think fit; but to read them as a piece of neceſſary furniture for a wit and a poet; which is a very different view from that of a chriſtian. For I have made it my obſervation, that the greateſt wits have been the beſt textuaries: our modern poets are, all to a man, almoſt as well read in the ſcriptures, as ſome of our divines, and often abound more with the phraſe. They have read them hiſtorically, critically, muſically, comically, poetically, and

and every other way except religiouſly, and have found their account in doing ſo. For the ſcriptures are undoubtedly a fund of wit, and a ſubject for wit. You may, according to the modern practice, be witty upon them, or out of them: and, to ſpeak the truth, but for them, I know not what our play-wrights would do for images, alluſions, ſimilitudes, examples, or even language itſelf. Shut up the ſacred books, and I would be bound our wit would run down like an alarum, or fall as the ſtocks did, and ruin half the poets in theſe kingdoms. And if that were the caſe, how would moſt of that tribe (all, I think, but the immortal Addiſon, who made a better uſe of his bible, and a few more) who dealt ſo freely in that fund, rejoice that they had drawn out in time, and left the preſent generation of poets to be the bubbles.

But here I muſt enter one caution, and deſire you to take notice, that in this advice of reading the ſcriptures, I had not the leaſt thought concerning your qualification that way for poetical orders; which I mention, becauſe I find a notion of that kind advanced by one of our Engliſh poets, and is, I ſuppoſe, maintained by the reſt. He ſays to Spencer, in a pretended viſion,

" —— With hands laid on, ordain me fit
" For the great cure and miniſtry of wit."

Which paſſage is, in my opinion, a notable alluſion to the ſcriptures; and making but reaſonable allowances for the ſmall circumſtance of profaneneſs, bordering cloſe upon blaſphemy, is inimitably fine;

ſine; beſide ſome uſeful diſcoveries made in it, as, that there are biſhops in poetry, that theſe biſhops muſt ordain young poets, and with laying on hands; and that poetry is a cure of ſouls; and, conſequently ſpeaking, thoſe who have ſuch cures ought to be poets, and too often are ſo: and indeed, as of old, poets and prieſts were one and the ſame function, the alliance of thoſe miniſterial offices is to this day happily maintained in the ſame perſons; and this I take to be the only juſtifiable reaſon for that appellation which they ſo much affect, I mean the modeſt title of divine poets. However, having never been preſent at the ceremony of ordaining to the prieſthood of poetry, I own I have no notion of the thing, and ſhall ſay the leſs of it here.

The ſcriptures then being generally both the fountain and ſubject of modern wit, I could do no leſs than give them the preference in your reading. After a thorough acquaintance with them, I would adviſe you to turn your thoughts to human literature, which yet I ſay more in compliance with vulgar opinions, than according to my own ſentiments.

For, indeed, nothing has ſurprized me more, than to ſee the prejudices of mankind as to this matter of human learning, who have generally thought it is neceſſary to be a good ſcholar, in order to be a good poet; than which nothing is falſer in fact, or more contrary to practice and experience. Neither will I diſpute the matter, if any man will undertake to ſhew me one profeſſed poet now in being, who is any thing of what may be

juſtly called a ſcholar; or is the worſe poet for that, but perhaps the better, for being ſo little encumbered with the pedantry of learning: tis true, the contrary was the opinion of our forefathers, which we of this age have devotion enough to receive from them on their own terms, and unexamined, but not ſenſe enough to perceive 'twas a groſs miſtake in them. So Horace has told us:

" Scribendi recte ſapere eſt & principium & fons,
" Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt oſtendere chartæ."

But, to ſee the different caſts of men's heads, ſome, not inferior to that poet in underſtanding (if you will take their own word for it) do ſee no conſequence in this rule, and are not aſhamed to declare themſelves of a contrary opinion. Do not many men write well in common account, who have nothing of that principle? Many are too wiſe to be poets, and others too much poets to be wiſe. Muſt a man, forſooth, be no leſs than a philoſopher to be a poet, when it is plain that ſome of the greateſt idiots of the age are our prettieſt performers that way? And for this, I appeal to the judgment and obſervation of mankind. Sir Ph. Sidney's notable remark upon this nation, may not be improper to mention here. He ſays, " In our neighbour " country Ireland, where true learning goes very " bare, yet are their poets held in devout reve- " rence;" which ſhews, that learning is no way neceſſary either to the making of a poet, or judging of him. And farther, to ſee the fate of things, notwith-

notwithſtanding our learning here is as bare as ever, yet are our poets not held, as formerly, in devout reverence; but are, perhaps, the moſt contemptible race of mortals now in this kingdom, which is no leſs to be wondered at, than lamented.

Some of the old philoſophers were poets, as, according to the forementioned author, Socrates and Plato were; which, however, is what I did not know before; but that does not ſay that all poets are, or that any need be, philoſophers, otherwiſe than as thoſe are ſo called who are a little out at the elbows. In which ſenſe the great Shakeſpear might have been a philoſopher; but was no ſcholar, yet was an excellent poet. Neither do I think a late moſt judicious critick ſo much miſtaken, as others do, in advancing this opinion, that "Shake-"ſpear had been a worſe poet, had he been a "better ſcholar:" and Sir W. Davenant is another inſtance in the ſame kind. Nor muſt it be forgotten, that Plato was an avowed enemy to poets; which is, perhaps, the reaſon why poets have been always at enmity with his profeſſion; and have rejected all learning and philoſophy, for the ſake of that one philoſopher. As I take the matter, neither philoſophy, nor any part of learning, is more neceſſary to poetry (which, if you will believe the ſame author, is "the ſum of all learning") than to know the theory of light, and the ſeveral proportions and diverſifications of it in particular colours, is to a good painter.

Whereas therefore, a certain author, called Petronius Arbiter, going upon the ſame miſtake, has

confidently declared, that one ingredient of a good poet, is "*Mens ingenti literarum flumine inundata*;" I do, on the contrary, declare, that this his aſſertion (to ſpeak of it in the ſofteſt terms) is no better than an invidious and unhandſome reflexion on all the gentlemen-poets of theſe times; for, with his good leave, much leſs than a flood, or inundation, will ſerve the turn; and, to my certain knowledge, ſome of our greateſt wits in your poetical way, have not as much real learning as would cover a ſixpence in the bottom of a baſon; nor do I think the worſe of them; for, to ſpeak my private opinion, I am for every man's working upon his own materials, and producing only what he can find within himſelf, which is commonly a better ſtock than the owner knows it to be. I think flowers of wit ought to ſpring, as thoſe in a garden do, from their own root and ſtem, without foreign aſſiſtance. I would have a man's wit rather like a fountain, that feeds itſelf inviſibly, than a river, that is ſupplied by ſeveral ſtreams from abroad.

Or, if it be neceſſary, as the caſe is with ſome barren wits, to take in the thoughts of others, in order to draw forth their own, as dry pumps will not play till water is thrown into them; in that neceſſity, I would recommend ſome of the approved ſtandard authors of antiquity for your peruſal, as a poet and a wit; becauſe, maggots being what you look for, as monkeys do for vermin in their keepers heads, you will find they abound in good old authors, as in rich old cheeſe, not in the new; and for that reaſon you muſt have the claſſicks, eſpe-

cially the moſt worm-eaten of them, often in your hands.

But with this caution, that you are not to uſe thoſe ancients as unlucky lads do their old fathers, and make no conſcience of picking their pockets and pillaging them. Your buſineſs is not to ſteal from them, but to improve upon them, and make their ſentiments your own; which is an effect of great judgment; and, though difficult, yet very poſſible, without the ſcurvy imputation of filching; for I humbly conceive, though I light my candle at my neighbour's fire, that does not alter the property, or make the wick, the wax, or the flame, or the whole candle, leſs my own.

Poſſibly you may think it a very ſevere taſk, to arrive at a competent knowledge of ſo many of the ancients as excel in their way; and indeed it would be really ſo, but for the ſhort and eaſy method lately found out of abſtracts, abridgments, ſummaries, &c. which are admirable expedients for being very learned with little or no reading; and have the ſame uſe with burning-glaſſes, to collect the diffuſed rays of wit and learning in authors, and make them point with warmth and quickneſs upon the reader's imagination. And to this is nearly related that other modern device of conſulting indexes, which is to read books Hebraically, and begin where others uſually end. And this is a compendious way of coming to an acquaintance with authors; for authors are to be uſed like lobſters, you muſt look for the beſt meat in the tails, and lay the bodies back again in the diſh. Your cun-

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ningeſt thieves (and what elſe are readers, who only read to borrow, *i. e.* to ſteal) uſe to cut off the portmanteau from behind, without ſtaying to dive into the pockets of the owner. Laſtly, you are taught thus much in the very elements of philoſophy; for one of the fineſt rules in logick is, *Finis eſt primus in intentione.*

The learned world is therefore moſt highly indebted to a late painful and judicious editor of the claſſicks, who has laboured in that new way with exceeding felicity. Every author, by his management, ſweats under himſelf, being over-loaded with his own index, and carries, like a north-country-pedlar, all his ſubſtance and furniture upon his back, and with as great variety of trifles. To him let all young ſtudents make their compliments for ſo much time and pains ſaved in the purſuit of uſeful knowledge; for whoever ſhortens a road, is a benefactor to the publick, and to every particular perſon who has occaſion to travel that way.

But to proceed. I have lamented nothing more in my time, than the diſuſe of ſome ingenious little plays, in faſhion with young folks when I was a boy, and to which the great facility of that age, above ours, in compoſing, was certainly owing; and, if any thing has brought a damp upon the verſification of theſe times, we have no farther than this to go for the cauſe of it. Now, could theſe ſports be happily revived, I am of opinion your wiſeſt courſe would be to apply your thoughts to them, and never fail to make a party when you can, in thoſe profitable diverſions. For example,

crambo is of extraordinary uſe to good rhiming, and rhiming is what I have ever accounted the very eſſential of a good poet: and in that notion I am not ſingular; for the aforeſaid Sir P. Sidney has declared, "That the chief life of modern verſifying "conſiſts in the like ſounding of words, which we "call rhime;" which is an authority, either without exception, or above any reply. Wherefore, you are ever to try a good poem as you would a ſound pipkin; and if it rings well upon the knuckle, be ſure there is no flaw in it. Verſe without rhime, is a body without a ſoul (for the "chief life conſiſteth in the rhime") or a bell without a clapper; which, in ſtrictneſs, is no bell, as being neither of uſe nor delight. And the ſame ever honoured knight, with ſo muſical an ear, had that veneration for the tuneableneſs and chiming of verſe, that he ſpeaks of a poet as one that has "the reverend title of a rhimer." Our celebrated Milton has done theſe nations great prejudice in this particular, having ſpoiled as many reverend rhimers, by his example, as he has made real poets.

For which reaſon, I am overjoyed to hear that a very ingenious youth of this town is now upon the uſeful deſign (for which he is never enough to be commended) of beſtowing rhime upon Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, which will make the poem, in that only defective, more heroic and ſonorous than it has hitherto been. I wiſh the gentleman ſucceſs in the performance; and, as it is a work in which a young man could not be more happily employed,

or appear in with greater advantage to his character, ſo I am concerned that it did not fall out to be your province.

With much the ſame view, I would recommend to you the witty play of pictures and motto's, which will furniſh your imagination with great ſtore of images and ſuitable devices. We of theſe kingdoms have found our account in this diverſion, as little as we conſider or acknowledge it; for to this we owe our eminent felicity in poſies of rings, motto's of ſnuff-boxes, the humours of ſign-poſts with their elegant inſcriptions, &c. in which kind of productions not any nation in the world, no, not the Dutch themſelves, will preſume to rival us.

For much the ſame reaſon, it may be proper for you to have ſome inſight into the play called, What is it like? as of great uſe in common practice, to quicken ſlow capacities, and improve the quickeſt: but the chief end of it is, to ſupply the fancy with variety of ſimilies for all ſubjects. It will teach you to bring things to a likeneſs, which have not the leaſt imaginable conformity in nature, which is properly creation, and the very buſineſs of a poet, as his name implies; and let me tell you, a good poet can no more be without a ſtock of ſimiles by him, than a ſhoe-maker without his laſts. He ſhould have them ſized, and ranged, and hung up in order in his ſhop, ready for all cuſtomers, and ſhaped to the feet of all ſorts of verſe: and here I could more fully (and I long to do it) inſiſt upon the wonderful harmony and reſemblance between a

poet

poet and a ſhoe-maker, in many circumſtances common to both; ſuch as the binding of their temples, the ſtuff they work upon, and the paring-knife they uſe, &c. but that I would not digreſs, nor ſeem to trifle in ſo ſerious a matter.

Now I ſay, if you apply yourſelf to theſe diminutive ſports (not to mention others of equal ingenuity, ſuch as draw-gloves, croſs purpoſes, queſtions and commands, and the reſt) it is not to be conceived what benefit (of nature) you will find by them, and how they will open the body of your invention. To theſe devote your ſpare-hours, or rather ſpare all your hours to them, and then you will act as becomes a wiſe man, and make even diverſions an improvement; like the inimitable management of the bee, which does the whole buſineſs of life at once, and at the ſame time both feeds, and works, and diverts itſelf.

Your own prudence will, I doubt not, direct you to take a place every evening among the ingenious, in the corner of a certain coffee-houſe in this town, where you will receive a turn equally right as to wit, religion, and politicks; as likewiſe to be as frequent at the playhouſe as you can afford, without ſelling your books. For, in our chaſte theatre, even Cato himſelf might ſit to the falling of the curtain: beſides, you will ſometimes meet with tolerable converſation among the players: they are ſuch a kind of men as may paſs, upon the ſame ſort of capacities, for wits off the ſtage, as they do for fine gentlemen upon it. Beſides, that I have known a factor deal in as good ware, and

ſell

ſell as cheap, as the merchant himſelf that employs him.

Add to this the expediency of furniſhing out your ſhelves with a choice collection of modern miſcellanies, in the gayeſt edition; and of reading all ſorts of plays, eſpecially the new, and above all, thoſe of our own growth, printed by ſubſcription; in which article of Iriſh manufacture, I readily agree to the late propoſal, and am altogether for "rejecting and renouncing every thing that comes "from England:" to what purpoſe ſhould we go thither for coals or poetry, when we have a vein within ourſelves, equally good and more convenient? Laſtly,

A common-place-book is what a provident poet cannot ſubſiſt without, for this proverbial reaſon, that "great wits have ſhort memories;" and whereas, on the other hand, poets, being liars by profeſſion, ought to have good memories; to reconcile theſe, a book of this ſort, is in the nature of a ſupplemental memory, or a record of what occurs remarkable in every day's reading or converſation. There you enter not only your own original thoughts, (which, a hundred to one, are few and inſignificant) but ſuch of other men, as you think fit to make your own, by entering them there. For, take this for a rule, when an author is in your books, you have the ſame demand upon him for his wit, as a merchant has for your money, when you are in his.

By theſe few and eaſy preſcriptions, (with the help of a good genius) it is poſſible you may, in a ſhort

a ſhort time, arrive at the accompliſhments of a poet, and ſhine in that character. As for your manner of compoſing, and choice of ſubjects, I cannot take upon me to be your director; but I will venture to give you ſome ſhort hints, which you may enlarge upon at your leiſure. Let me entreat you then, by no means to lay aſide that notion peculiar to our modern refiners in poetry, which is, that a poet muſt never write or diſcourſe as the ordinary part of mankind do, but in number and verſe, as an oracle; which I mention the rather, becauſe, upon this principle, I have known heroes brought into the pulpit, and a whole ſermon compoſed and delivered in blank verſe, to the vaſt credit of the preacher, no leſs than the real entertainment and great edification of the audience; the ſecret of which I take to be this: when the matter of ſuch diſcourſes is but mere clay, or, as we uſually call it, ſad ſtuff, the preacher, who can afford no better, wiſely moulds, and poliſhes, and dries, and waſhes this piece of earthen-ware, and then bakes it with poetic fire; after which it will ring like any pan-crock, and is a good diſh to ſet before common gueſts, as every congregation is, that comes ſo often for entertainment to one place.

There was a good old cuſtom in uſe, which our anceſtors had, of invoking the muſes at the entrance of their poems; I ſuppoſe, by way of craving a bleſſing: this the graceleſs moderns have in a great meaſure laid aſide, but are not to be followed in that poetical impiety; for, although to nice ears ſuch invocations may ſound harſh and diſagreeable

(as

(as tuning inſtruments is before a concert) they are equally neceſſary. Again, you muſt not fail to dreſs your muſe in a forehead-cloth of Greek or Latin, I mean, you are always to make uſe of a quaint motto to all your compoſitions; for, beſide that this artifice beſpeaks the reader's opinion of the writer's learning, it is otherwiſe uſeful and commendable. A bright paſſage in the front of a poem, is a good mark, like a ſtar in a horſe's face; and the piece will certainly go off the better for it. The *os magna ſonaturum*, which, if I remember right, Horace makes one qualification of a good poet, may teach you not to gagg your muſe, or ſtint yourſelf in words and epithets which coſt you nothing, contrary to the practice of ſome few out-of-the-way writers, who uſe a natural and conciſe expreſſion, and affect a ſtyle like unto a Shrewſbury-cake, ſhort and ſweet upon the palate; they will not afford you a word more than is neceſſary to make them intelligible, which is as poor and niggardly, as it would be to ſet down no more meat than your company will be ſure to eat up. Words are but lacquies to ſenſe, and will dance attendance without wages or compulſion; *Verba non invita ſequentur.*

Farthermore, when you ſet about compoſing, it may be neceſſary, for your eaſe, and better diſtillation of wit, to put on your worſt cloaths, and the worſe the better; for an author, like a limbeck, will yield the better for having a rag about him: beſides that I have obſerved a gardener cut the outward rind of a tree, (which is the ſurtout of it)

to

to make it bear well: and this is a natural account of the uſual poverty of poets, and is an argument why wits, of all men living, ought to be ill-clad. I have always a ſacred veneration for any one I obſerve to be a little out of repair in his perſon, as ſuppoſing him either a poet, or a philoſopher; becauſe the richeſt minerals are ever found under the moſt ragged and withered ſurface of the earth.

As for your choice of ſubjects, I have only to give you this caution: that as a handſome way of praiſing, is certainly the moſt difficult point in writing or ſpeaking, I would by no means adviſe any young man to make his firſt eſſay in panegyrick, beſide the danger of it: for a particular encomium, is ever attended with more ill-will, than any general invective, for which I need give no reaſons; wherefore, my counſel is, that you uſe the point of your pen, not the feather: let your firſt attempt be a *coup d'éclat* in the way of libel, lampoon, or ſatire. Knock down half a ſcore reputations, and you will infallibly raiſe your own; and ſo it be with wit, no matter with how little juſtice; for fiction is your trade.

Every great genius ſeems to ride upon mankind, like Pyrrhus on his elephant; and the way to have the abſolute aſcendant of your reſty nag, and to keep your ſeat, is, at your firſt mounting, to afford him the whip and ſpurs plentifully; after which, you may travel the reſt of the day with great alacrity. Once kick the world, and the world and you will live together at a reaſonable good underſtanding. You cannot but know that theſe of your profeſſion

profeſſion have been called *genus irritabile vatum*; and you will find it neceſſary to qualify yourſelf for that waſpiſh ſociety, by exerting your talent of ſatire upon the firſt occaſion, and to abandon good-nature, only to prove yourſelf a true poet, which you will allow to be a valuable conſideration: in a word, a young robber is uſually entered by a murder: a young hound is blooded when he comes firſt into the field: a young bully begins with killing his man: and a young poet muſt ſhew his wit, as the other his courage, by cutting, and flaſhing, and laying about him, and banging mankind.

Laſtly, It will be your wiſdom to look out betimes for a good ſervice for your muſe, according to her ſkill and qualifications, whether in the nature of a dairy-maid, a cook, or chair-woman: I mean, to hire out your pen to a party, which will afford you both pay and protection; and when you have to do with the preſs, (as you will long to be there) take care to beſpeak an importunate friend, to extort your productions with an agreeable violence; and which, according to the cue between you, you muſt ſurrender *digito male pertinaci*: there is a decency in this; for it no more becomes an author, in modeſty, to have a hand in publiſhing his own works, than a woman in labour, to lay herſelf.

I would be very loth to give the leaſt umbrage of offence by what I have here ſaid, as I may do, if I ſhould be thought to inſinuate that theſe circumſtances of good writing have been unknown to, or

not

not obſerved by, the poets of this kingdom: I will do my countrymen the juſtice to ſay, they have written by the foregoing rules with great exactneſs, and ſo far as hardly to come behind thoſe of their profeſſion in England, in perfection of low writing. The ſublime indeed is not ſo common with us; but ample amends is made for that want, in great abundance of the admirable and amazing, which appears in all our compoſitions. Our very good friend (the knight aforeſaid) ſpeaking of the force of poetry, mentions "rhiming to death, "which (adds he) is ſaid to be done in Ireland;" and truly, to our honour be it ſpoken, that power, in a great meaſure, continues with us to this day.

I would now offer ſome poor thoughts of mine for the enccuragement of poetry in this kingdom, if I could hope they would be agreeable. I have had many an aking heart for the ill plight of that noble profeſſion here; and it has been my late and early ſtudy, how to bring it into better circumſtances. And ſurely, conſidering what monſtrous wits, in the poetic way, do almoſt daily ſtart up and ſurprize us in this town; what prodigious geniuſes we have here, (of which I could give inſtances without number) and withal of what great benefit it may be to our trade to encourage that ſcience here, for it is plain our linen-manufacture is advanced by the great waſte of paper made by our preſent ſet of poets; not to mention other neceſſary uſes of the ſame to ſhop-keepers, eſpecially grocers, apothecaries, and paſtry-cooks; and I might add, but for our writers, the nation would in a little

time

time be utterly deſtitute of bum-fodder, and muſt of neceſſity import the ſame from England and Holland, where they have it in great abundance, by the indefatigable labour of their own wits: I ſay, theſe things conſidered, I am humbly of opinion, it would be worth the care of our governors to cheriſh gentlemen of the quill, and give them all proper encouragements here. And, ſince I am upon the ſubject, I ſhall ſpeak my mind very freely, and if I add ſawcily, it is no more than my birth-right as a Briton.

Seriouſly then, I have many years lamented the want of a Grub-ſtreet in this our large and polite city, unleſs the whole may be called one. And this I have accounted an unpardonable defect in our conſtitution, ever ſince I had any opinions I could call my own. Every one knows Grub-ſtreet is a market for ſmall-ware in wit, and as neceſſary, conſidering the uſual purgings of human brain, as the noſe is upon a man's face: and for the ſame reaſons we have here a court, a college, a play-houſe, and beautiful ladies, and fine gentlemen, and good claret, and abundance of pens, ink, and paper, clear of taxes, and every other circumſtance to provoke wit; and yet thoſe, whoſe province it is, have not thought fit to appoint a place for evacuations of it, which is a very hard caſe, as may be judged by compariſons.

And truly this defect has been attended with unſpeakable inconveniencies; for, not to mention the prejudice done to the common-wealth of letters, I am of opinion we ſuffer in our health by it: I believe

lieve our corrupted air, and frequent thick fogs, are in a great meaſure owing to the common expoſal of our wit; and that with good management, our poetical vapours might be carried off in a common drain, and fall into one quarter of the town, without infecting the whole, as the caſe is at preſent, to the great offence of our nobility and gentry, and others of nice noſes. When writers of all ſizes, like freemen of the city, are at liberty to throw out their filth and excrementitious productions, in every ſtreet as they pleaſe, what can the conſequence be, but that the town muſt be poiſoned, and become ſuch another jakes, as, by report of great travellers, Edinburgh is at night, a thing well to be conſidered in theſe peſtilential times.

I am not of the ſociety for reformation of manners, but, without that pragmatical title, I ſhould be glad to ſee ſome amendment in the matter before us: wherefore I humbly beſpeak the favour of the lord-mayor, the court of aldermen, and common-council, together with the whole circle of arts in this town, and do recommend this affair to their moſt political conſideration; and I perſuade myſelf they will not be wanting in their beſt endeavours, when they can ſerve two ſuch good ends at once, as both to keep the town ſweet, and encourage poetry in it. Neither do I make any exceptions as to ſatirical poets and lampoon-writers, in conſideration of their office; for though, indeed, their buſineſs is to rake into kennels, and gather up the filth of ſtreets and families, (in which reſpect they may be, for aught I know, as neceſſary to the

town as ſcavengers, or chimney-ſweeps) yet I have obſerved they too, have themſelves, at the ſame time, very foul cloaths, and, like dirty perſons, leave more filth and naſtineſs, than they ſweep away.

In a word, what I would be at (for I love to be plain in matters of importance to my country) is, that ſome private ſtreet, or blind alley of this town, may be fitted up, at the charge of the publick, as an apartment for the muſes (like thoſe at Rome and Amſterdam, for their female relations) and be wholly conſigned to the uſes of our wits, furniſhed completely with all appurtenances, ſuch as authors, ſuperviſors, preſſes, printers, hawkers, ſhops, and ware-houſes, abundance of garrets, and every other implement and circumſtance of wit; the benefit of which would obviouſly be this, *viz.* that we ſhould then have a ſafe repoſitory for our beſt productions, which at preſent are handed about in ſingle ſheets or manuſcripts, and may be altogether loſt (which were a pity) or at the beſt, are ſubject, in that looſe dreſs, like handſome women, to great abuſes.

Another point, that has coſt me ſome melancholy reflections, is the preſent ſtate of the play-houſe; the encouragement of which has an immediate influence upon the poetry of the kingdom; as a good market improves the tillage of the neighbouring country, and enriches the ploughman; neither do we of this town ſeem enough to know or conſider the vaſt benefit of a play-houſe to our city and nation: that ſingle houſe is the fountain of all our love, wit, dreſs, and gallantry. It is

the ſchool of wiſdom; for there we learn to know what's what; which, however, I cannot ſay is always in that place found knowledge. There our young folks drop their childiſh miſtakes, and come firſt to perceive their mothers cheat of the parſley-bed; there too they get rid of natural prejudices, eſpecially thoſe of religion and modeſty, which are great reſtraints to a free people. The ſame is a remedy for the ſpleen, and bluſhing, and ſeveral diſtempers occaſioned by the ſtagnation of the blood. It is likewiſe a ſchool of common-ſwearing; my young maſter, who at firſt but minced an oath, is taught there to mouth it gracefully, and to ſwear, as he reads French, *ore rotundo*. Profaneneſs was before to him in the nature of his beſt ſuit, or holiday-cloaths; but, upon frequenting the play-houſe, ſwearing, curſing, and lying, become like his every-day coat, waiſtcoat, and breeches. Now I ſay, common-ſwearing, a produce of this country as plentiful as our corn, thus cultivated by the play-houſe, might, with management, be of wonderful advantage to the nation, as a projector of the ſwearers-bank has proved at large. Laſtly, the ſtage in great meaſure ſupports the pulpit; for I know not what our divines could have to ſay there againſt the corruptions of the age, but for the play-houſe, which is the ſeminary of them. From which it is plain, the publick is a gainer by the play-houſe, and conſequently ought to countenance it; and, were I worthy to put in my word, or preſcribe to my betters, I could ſay in what manner.

I have heard that a certain gentleman has great deſigns to ſerve the publick, in the way of their diverſions, with due encouragement; that is, if he can obtain ſome concordatum-money, or yearly ſalary, and handſome contribution: and well he deſerves the favours of the nation; for, to do him juſtice, he has an uncommon ſkill in paſtimes, having altogether applied his ſtudies that way, and travelled full many a league, by ſea and land, for this his profound knowledge. With that view alone, he has viſited all the courts and cities in Europe, and has been at more pains than I ſhall ſpeak of, to take an exact draught of the play-houſe at the Hague, as a model for a new one here. But what can a private man do by himſelf in ſo public an undertaking? It is not to be doubted but, by his care and induſtry, vaſt improvements may be made, not only in our play-houſe (which is his immediate province), but in our gaming ordinaries, groom-porters, lotteries, bowling-greens, nine-pin-allies, bear-gardens, cock-pits, prizes, puppet and raree-ſhows, and whatever elſe concerns the elegant divertiſements of this town. He is truly an original genius; and I felicitate this our capital city on his reſidence here, where I wiſh him long to live and flouriſh, for the good of the commonwealth.

Once more: if any farther applications ſhall be made on the other ſide, to obtain a charter for a bank here, I preſume to make a requeſt, that poetry may be a ſharer in that privilege, being a fund as real, and to the full as well grounded, as our ſtocks;

but I fear our neighbours, who envy our wit as much as they do our wealth or trade, will give no encouragement to either. I believe alſo, it might be proper to erect a corporation of poets in this city. I have been idle enough in my time, to make a computation of wits here; and do find we have three hundred performing poets and upwards, in and about this town, reckoning ſix ſcore to the hundred, and allowing for demi's, like pint-bottles; including alſo the ſeveral denominations of imitators, tranſlators, and familiar-letter-writers, &c. One of theſe laſt has lately entertained the town with an original piece, and ſuch a one as, I dare ſay, the late Britiſh Spectator, in his decline, would have called, "an excellent ſpecimen of the true ſub-"lime;" or "a noble poem;" or "a fine copy "of verſes, on a ſubject perfectly new," the author himſelf; and had given it a place among his lateſt lucubrations.

But, as I was ſaying, ſo many poets, I am confident, are ſufficient to furniſh out a corporation in point of number. Then, for the ſeveral degrees of ſubordinate members requiſite to ſuch a body, there can be no want; for, although we have not one maſterly poet, yet we abound with wardens and beadles; having a multitude of poetaſters, poetitos, parcel-poets, poet-apes, and philo-poets, and many of inferior attainments in wit, but ſtrong inclinations to it, which are by odds more than all the reſt. Nor ſhall I ever be at eaſe, till this project of mine (for which I am heartily thankful to myſelf) ſhall be reduced to practice. I long to ſee the day,

when our poets will be a regular and diſtinct body, and wait upon the lord-mayor on public days, like other good citizens, in gowns turned up with green inſtead of laurels; and when I myſelf, who make this propoſal, ſhall be free of their company.

To conclude, what if our government had a poet-laureat here, as in England? what if our univerſity had a profeſſor of poetry here, as in England? what if our lord-mayor had a city-bard here, as in England? and, to refine upon England, what if every corporation, pariſh, and ward in this town, had a poet in fee, as they have not in England? Laſtly, what if every one, ſo qualified, were obliged to add one more than uſual to the number of his domeſticks, and beſide a fool and a chaplain (which are often united in one perſon) would retain a poet in his family; for, perhaps, a rhimer is as neceſſary among ſervants of a houſe, as a Dobbin with his bells at the head of a team? But theſe things I leave to the wiſdom of my ſuperiors.

While I have been directing your pen, I ſhould not forget to govern my own, which has already exceeded the bounds of a letter: I muſt therefore take my leave abruptly, and deſire you, without farther ceremony, to believe that I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

December 1, 1720.

J. S.

SOME
ARGUMENTS
AGAINST ENLARGING
THE POWER OF BISHOPS
IN
LETTING LEASES.

Mihi credite, major hæreditas venit unicuique veſtrum in iiſdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipſa bona relicta ſunt.

CICERO pro A. CÆCINA.

SOME

ARGUMENTS

AGAINST ENLARGING

THE POWER OF BISHOPS, &c.

Written in the Year 1723.

IN handling this ſubject, I ſhall proceed wholly upon the ſuppoſition, that thoſe of our party, who profeſs themſelves members of the church eſtabliſhed, and under the apoſtolical government of biſhops, do deſire the continuance and tranſmiſſion of it to poſterity, at leaſt in as good a condition as it is at preſent: becauſe, as this diſcourſe is not calculated for diſſenters of any kind, ſo neither will it ſuit the talk or ſentiments of thoſe perſons, who, with the denomination of churchmen, are oppreſſors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the biſhops; which is a traditional cant delivered down from former times, and continued with great reaſon, although it be near 200 years ſince almoſt three parts in four of the church revenues have been taken from the clergy, beſide the ſpoils that have been gradually made ever ſince of glebes and other lands, by the confuſion of times, the fraud of encroaching

croaching neighbours, or the power of oppreſſors too great to be encountered.

About the time of the Reformation, many popiſh biſhops of this kingdom, knowing they muſt have been ſoon ejected if they would not change their religion, made long leaſes and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reſerving very inconſiderable rents, ſometimes only a chiefry, by a power they aſſumed directly contrary to many antient canons, yet conſiſtent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the biſhops became proteſtants; and ſome of their names are ſtill remembered with infamy, on account of enriching their families by ſuch ſacrilegious alienations. By theſe means epiſcopal revenues were ſo low reduced, that three or four ſees were often united to make a tolerable competency. For ſome remedy to this evil, king James the Firſt, by a bounty that became a good Chriſtian prince, beſtowed ſeveral forfeited lands on the northern biſhopricks: but in all other parts of the kingdom, the church continued ſtill in the ſame diſtreſs and poverty; ſome of the ſees hardly poſſeſſing enough to maintain a country vicar. About the middle of king Charles the Firſt's reign, the legiſlature here thought fit to put a ſtop at leaſt to any farther alienations; and ſo a law was enacted, prohibiting all biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtical corporations, from ſetting their lands for above the term of twenty-one years; the rent reſerved to be one half of the real value of ſuch lands at the time they were ſet, without which condition the leaſe to be void.

Soon

Soon after the reſtoration of king Charles the Second, the parliament taking into conſideration the miſerable eſtate of the church, certain lands, by way of augmentation, were granted to eight biſhops in the act of ſettlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three ſees were in a great meaſure defeated; but by what accidents it is not here of any importance to relate.

This at preſent is the condition of the church in Ireland, with regard to epiſcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced for ſome information to thoſe, whoſe thoughts do not lead them to ſuch conſiderations.

By virtue of the ſtatute already mentioned, under king Charles the Firſt, limiting eccleſiaſtical bodies to the term of twenty-one years under the reſerved rent of half real value, the biſhops have had ſome ſhare in the gradual riſe of lands, without which they could not have been ſupported with any common decency that might become their ſtation. It is above eighty years ſince the paſſing of that act: the ſee of Meath, one of the beſt in the kingdom, was then worth about 400 *l. per annum;* the poorer ones in the ſame proportion. If this were their preſent condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their ſucceſſors, if ſuch a bill ſhould paſs, as they ſay is now intended, which I will ſuppoſe; and of which I believe many perſons, who may give a vote for it, are not aware.

However,

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at leaſt eluded; ſome are for giving biſhops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leaſes for lives; and the moſt moderate would repeal that clauſe, by which the biſhops are bound to let their lands at half value.

The reaſons for the riſe of value in lands are of two kinds. Of the firſt kind, are long peace and ſettlement after the devaſtations of war; plantations, improvements of bad ſoil, recovery of bogs and marſhes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increaſe of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reaſon for the riſe of land, more gradual, conſtant and certain; which will have its effects in countries that are very far from flouriſhing in any of the advantages I have juſt mentioned: I mean the perpetual decreaſe in the value of gold and ſilver. I ſhall diſcourſe upon theſe two different kinds, with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the firſt: I cannot ſee how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts in five of the plantations for thirty years paſt have been real diſ-improvements; nine in ten of the quickſet-hedges being ruined for want of care or ſkill. And as to foreſt trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in ſingle rows on the tops of ditches, it is impoſſible they ſhould grow to be of uſe, beauty, or ſhelter. Neither can it be ſaid, that the ſoil of Ireland is improved to its full

full height, while ſo much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almoſt deſperate by the ill cutting of the turf. There has indeed been ſome little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woolen, although very ſhort of perfection; but our trade was never in ſo low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wiſe nations have been ſo tender, the deſolation made in the country by engroſſing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable inſtances under what diſcouragement it lies.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe mortifications, I ſuppoſe there is no well-wiſher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in ſome of the articles abovementioned. But it would be hard, if eccleſiaſtical bodies ſhould be the only perſons excluded from any ſhare in public advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater ſhare of profit to their tenants: if God ſends rain equally upon the juſt and the unjuſt, why ſhould thoſe who wait at his altars, and are inſtructers of the people, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reaſoning may ſeem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will ſuit with the preſent diſpoſition or faſhion of the age; I ſhall therefore dwell more largely upon the ſecond reaſon for the riſe of land, which is the perpetual decreaſe of the value of gold and ſilver.

This

This may be obſerved from the courſe of the Roman hiſtory above two thouſand years before thoſe inexhauſtible ſilver mines of Potoſi were known. The value of an obolus, and of every other coin between the time of Romulus and that of Auguſtus, gradually ſunk above five parts in ſix, as appears by ſeveral paſſages out of the beſt authors. And yet the prodigious wealth of that ſtate, did not ariſe from the increaſe of bullion in the world by the diſcovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cauſe, which was the ſpreading of their conqueſt, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy, the riches of the Eaſt and Weſt.

When the ſeat of empire was removed to Conſtantinople, the tide of money flowed that way without ever returning; and was ſcattered in Aſia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the northern people, ſuch a ſtop was put to all trade and commerce, that vaſt ſums of money were buried, to eſcape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained was carried off by thoſe ravagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but the monkiſh and other writers ſince the conqueſt, have put that matter in a clearer light, by the ſeveral accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle, in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows, that king John's whole portion, before he came to the crown, was but five thouſand pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewiſe ſeen the ſteward's accounts of an ancient noble family in England, written in Latin between three and four hundred years ago, with the ſeveral prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my obſervations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about four hundred years paſt. Henry duke of Lancaſter, who lived about that period, founded an hoſpital at Leiceſter for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In thoſe times, a penny was equal to ten pence half-penny and ſomewhat more than half a farthing in ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain alſo from the old cuſtom upon many eſtates in England to let for leaſes of lives (renewable at pleaſure) where the reſerved rent is uſually about twelve pence a pound, which then was near the half real value: and although the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above three ſhillings in the pound of the worth of his land: and the tenants are ſo wedded to this cuſtom, that if the owner ſuffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a leaſe on other conditions; or if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reaſonable rent, the other tenants, by all manner of injuries, will make that foreigner ſo uneaſy, that he muſt be forced to quit the farm; as the late earl of Bath felt by the experience of above ten thouſand pounds loſs.

The

The gradual decreaſe for about two hundred years after, was not conſiderable, and therefore I do not rely on the account given by ſome hiſtorians, that Harry the Seventh left behind him eighteen hundred thouſand pounds; for although the Weſt-Indies were diſcovered before his death, and although he had the beſt talents and inſtruments for exacting money, ever poſſeſſed by any prince ſince the time of Veſpaſian (whom he reſembled in many particulars) yet I conceive, that in his days the whole coin of England could hardly amount to ſuch a ſum. For in the reign of Philip and Mary, Sir —— Cockain of Derbyſhire, the beſt houſe-keeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty pounds a year for maintaining the family, one pound a year wages to each ſervant, and two pounds to the ſteward; as I was told by a perſon of quality, who had ſeen the original account of his œconomy. Now this ſum of fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a year at preſent, or ſomewhat more than four fifths.

The great plenty of ſilver in England began in queen Elizabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vaſt quantities of coin and bullion from the Spaniards, either upon their own American coaſts, or in their return to Spain. However, ſo much has been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in England, and moſt parts of Europe, is ſunk above one half within the ſpace of a hundred years, notwithſtanding the great export of ſilver for about eighty years paſt to the Eaſt-

East-Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the ſame accident, and by new diſcoveries growing every day more plentiful, ſeems in danger of becoming a drug.

This has been the progreſs of the value of money in former ages, and muſt of neceſſity continue ſo for the future, without ſome new invaſion of Goths and Vandals, to deſtroy law, property and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upſide down.

I muſt repeat, that what I am to ſay upon the ſubject is intended only for the conviction of thoſe among our own party, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it ſhould continue, in a tolerable degree of proſperity, to the end of the world.

The church is ſuppoſed to laſt for ever, both in its diſcipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who muſt likewiſe obſerve the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's eſtate, which now yields him a thouſand pounds a year, had been ſet for ever at the higheſt value, even in the flouriſhing days of king Charles the Second, would it now amount to above four or five hundred at moſt? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reſerved rent at this day be any more than a ſmall chiefry? Suppoſe the revenues of a biſhop to have been under the ſame circumſtances; could he now be able to perform works of hoſpitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a biſhop be limited to a thouſand pounds a year; how will his ſuc-

ceſſor be in a condition to ſupport his ſtation with decency, when the ſame denomination of money ſhall not anſwer a half, a quarter, or an eighth part of the ſum? which muſt unavoidably be the conſequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preſerved from utter ruin.

The ſame reaſon holds good in all corporations whatſoever; who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them ſmart to this day; although the leaders among them are often ſo ſtupid as not to perceive it, or ſometimes ſo knaviſh as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about a hundred years ago; and inſtead of limiting their rents to a certain ſum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of ſo many barrels of corn, to be valued as the market went at two ſeaſons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinſic value, which gold and ſilver are not: and by this invention, theſe colleges have preſerved a tolerable ſubſiſtence for their fellows and ſtudents to this day.

The preſent biſhops will indeed be no ſufferers by ſuch a bill; becauſe, their ages conſidered, they cannot expect to ſee any great decreaſe in the value of money; or at worſt they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than uſual upon the change of leaſes into fee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half value. And, as I cannot well blame them

them for taking ſuch advantages (conſidering the nature of human kind) when the queſtion is only, whether the money ſhall be put into their own or another man's pocket; ſo they will never be excuſable before God or man, if they do not to their death oppoſe, declare, and proteſt againſt any ſuch bill, as muſt in its conſequences complete the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private perſon be diminiſhed by the weakneſs, or inadvertency of his anceſtors, in letting leaſes for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his induſtry for purchaſing more: but the church is barred by a dead hand; or, if it were otherwiſe, yet the cuſtom of making bequeſts to it has been out of practice for almoſt two hundred years, and a great deal directly contrary has been its fortune.

I have been aſſured by a perſon of ſome conſequence, to whom I am likewiſe obliged for the account of ſome other facts already related, that the late * biſhop of Saliſbury (the greateſt Whig of that bench in his days) confeſſed to him, that the liberty which biſhops in England have of letting leaſes for lives, would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of epiſcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation-act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? have not

* Dr. Burnet.

two Engliſh prelates quitted their peerage and ſeats in parliament, in a nation of freedom, for the ſake of a more ample revenue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which however they cannot be juſtly cenſured. I know indeed ſome perſons, who offer as an argument for repealing the limiting-bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with biſhops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they allege, that as things have gone for ſome years paſt, gentlemen will grow diſcouraged from ſending their ſons to their univerſity, and from ſuffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languiſh under a curacy or ſmall vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decreaſe in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and beſides, when biſhopricks here grow too ſmall to invite over men of credit and conſequence, they will be left more fully to the diſpoſal of a chief governor, who can never fail of ſome worthleſs illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench, in an age or two, be compoſed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble ſuppliants and dependants upon the court for a morſel of bread, and ready to ſerve every turn that ſhall be demanded from them, in hopes of getting ſome *commendam* tacked to their ſees; which muſt then be the trade, as it is now too much in England, to the great

diſcouragement

diſcouragement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that practice without example among us.

It is now about eighty-five years ſince the paſſing of that limiting-act, and there is but one inſtance in the memory of man, of a biſhop's leaſe broken upon the plea of not being ſtatutable; which, in every body's opinion, could have been loſt by no other perſon than * he who was then tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his county. In the preſent biſhop of Meath's caſe, that plea did not avail, although the leaſe † were notoriouſly unſtatutable; the rent reſerved being, as I have been told, not a ſeventh part of the real value; yet the jury, upon their oaths, very gravely found it be according to the ſtatute; and one of them was heard to ſay, that he would eat his ſhoes before he would give a verdict for the biſhop. A very few more have made the ſame attempt with as little ſucceſs. Every biſhop, and other eccleſiaſtical body, reckon forty pounds in a hundred to be a reaſonable half value; or if it be only a third part, it ſeldom or never breeds any difference between landlord and tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or ten parts leſs than the worth, the biſhop, if he conſults the good of his ſee, will be apt to expoſtulate; and the tenant, if he be an honeſt man, will have ſome regard to the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the demand, ſo as to yield to a

* This ſhould be, *him*, not *he*; which will be immediately manifeſt by reſtoring the prepoſition here omitted; as thus—'could have been loſt by no other perſon than by *him* who was, &c.'

† This ſhould be—although the leaſe *was*—not *were*.

moderate advancement, rather than engage in a ſuit, where law and equity are directly againſt him. By theſe means the biſhops have been ſo true to their truſts, as to procure ſome ſmall ſhare in the advancement of rents; although it be notorious that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the publick, by one or two thouſand pounds a year in the hands of a proteſtant biſhop, any more than of a lay perſon. The former, generally ſpeaking, lives as piouſly and hoſpitably as the other; pays his debts as honeſtly, and ſpends as much of his revenue among his tenants: beſides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may diſtinguiſh them at firſt ſight by their habits and horſes; or, if you go to their houſes, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that ſuch immediate tenants, generally ſpeaking, have others under them, and ſo a third and fourth in ſubordination, till it comes to the welder (as they call him) who ſits at a rack-rent, and lives as miſerably as an Iriſh farmer upon a new leaſe from a lay landlord. But, ſuppoſe a biſhop happens to be avaricious (as being compoſed of the ſame ſtuff with other men) the conſequence to the publick is no worſe than if he were a ſquire; for he leaves his fortune to his ſon, or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no diſadvantage to the publick in a proteſtant country, that a man ſhould hold lands as a biſhop, any more than if he were a temporal perſon; ſo it is of great advantage to the community, where a biſhop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conſcience to reſide in his dioceſe, and by a ſolemn promiſe to keep hoſpitality; his eſtate is ſpent in the kingdom, not remitted to England; he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppoſe him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it muſt be allowed, that ſome biſhops of this kingdom, within twenty years paſt, have done very ſignal and laſting acts of public charity; great inſtances whereof are the late * and preſent † primate, and the lord ‡ archbiſhop of Dublin that now is, who has left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province, I might add the biſhop of § Raphoe, and ſeveral others: not forgetting the late dean of Down, Dr. Pratt, who beſtowed one thouſand pounds upon the univerſity; which foundation, (that I may obſerve by the way) if the bill propoſed ſhould paſs, would be in the ſame circumſtances with the biſhops, nor ever able again to advance the ſtipends of the fellows and ſtudents, as lately they found it neceſſary to do; the determinate ſum appointed by the ſtatutes for commons, being not half ſufficient, by the fall of money, to afford neceſſary ſuſtenance. But

* Dr. Marſh. † Dr. Lindſay. ‡ Dr. King. § Dr. Foſter.

the paſſing of ſuch a bill muſt put an end to all eccleſiaſtical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be ſupplied by thoſe who are to reap the benefit, better than it has been done by the grantees of impropriate tithes, who received them upon the old church conditions of keeping hoſpitality, it will be eaſy to conjecture.

To allege, that paſſing ſuch a bill would be a good encouragement to improve biſhops lands, is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords to wait the expiration of a leaſe, and then cant their lands to the higheſt bidder? and what ſhould hinder the ſame courſe to be taken in church leaſes, when the limitation is removed of paying half the real value to the biſhop? In riding through the country, how few improvements do we ſee upon the eſtates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To ſay the truth, it is a great misfortune, as well to the publick, as to the biſhops themſelves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great ſquires, who, in reaſon, were never deſigned to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a ſubſerviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honeſt farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with cheerfulneſs, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thouſand pounds a year talk with great contempt of biſhops leaſes, as being on a worſe foot than the reſt of his eſtate; and he had certainly reaſon: my anſwer was, that ſuch leaſes

were

were originally intended only for the benefit of induſtrious huſbandmen, who would think it a great bleſſing to be ſo provided for, inſtead of having their farms ſcrewed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find ſhoes for their children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by ſuch a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and falſe dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to a highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and ſo I ſhall be ſure to prevent the ſin of robbery.

I had * wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookſeller ſent me a ſmall pamphlet, intituled, *The caſe of the laity, with ſome queries*; full of the ſtrongeſt malice againſt the clergy, that I have any where met with ſince the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. Theſe kinds of advocates do infinite miſchief to OUR GOOD CAUSE, by giving grounds to the unjuſt reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear a hearty unfeigned loyalty to his majeſty king George, and the houſe of Hanover, not ſhaken in the leaſt by the hardſhips we lie under, which never can be imputable to ſo gracious a prince; if I ſincerely abjure the Pretender, and all Popiſh Succeſſors; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late king William, who preſerved theſe kingdoms from Popery and Slavery, with the expence

* This ſhould be, *written*, the partic. not the pret. *wrote*.

of

of his blood, and hazard of his life; and laſtly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all diſſenters, I think nothing more can be reaſonably demanded of me as a WHIG, and that my political catechiſm is full and complete. But whoever, under the ſhelter of that party denomination, and of many great profeſſions of loyalty, would deſtroy, or undermine, or injure the Church eſtabliſhed; I utterly diſown him, and think he ought to chuſe another name of diſtinction for himſelf and his adherents. I came into the cauſe upon other principles, which by the grace of God I mean to preſerve as long as I live. Shall we juſtify the accuſations of our adverſaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.*—— The Tories and Jacobites will behold us, with a malicious pleaſure, determined upon the ruin of our friends. For is not the preſent ſet of biſhops almoſt entirely of that number, as well as a great majority of the principal clergy? And a ſhort time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleaſes to examine what I have already ſaid, will eaſily anſwer the bold queries in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that the reaſon ſtill ſtrongly exiſts, for which that limiting law was enacted. A reaſonable man will wonder, where can be the inſufferable grievance, that an eccleſiaſtical landlord ſhould expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is at leaſt as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but ſeldom guilty of giving ſuch beneficial bargains. Has the nation been thrown into confuſion; and

have

have many poor families been ruined by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does the nation cry out to have a law that muſt in time ſend their biſhops a begging? But, God be thanked, the clamours of enemies to the church is not yet the cry, and I hope will never prove the voice, of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that the people maintain them, any more than in the ſenſe that all landlords whatſoever are maintained by the people. Such aſſertions as theſe, and the inſinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by thoſe who are for preſerving the happy conſtitution in church and ſtate. Whoever were the propoſers of ſuch queries, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more juſtice than prudence, by ſhewing at whoſe door the grievance lies, and that the biſhops at leaſt are not to anſwer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the epiſcopal rent-roll almoſt one half, let me ſuppoſe that all the church-lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in ſuch a caſe ſit eaſier in their rents than they do now? or, would the money be equally ſpent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be ſcrewed up to the utmoſt penny by the agents and ſtewards of abſentees, and the revenues employed in making a figure at London; to which city a full third part of the whole income of Ireland is annually returned, to anſwer that ſingle article of maintenance for Iriſh landlords.

Another

Another of his quarrels is againſt pluralities and non-reſidence: as to the former, it is a word of ill name, but not well underſtood. The clergy having been ſtripped of the greateſt part of their revenues, the glebes being generally loſt, the tithes in the hands of laymen, the churches demoliſhed, and the country depopulated; in order to preſerve a face of chriſtianity, it was neceſſary to unite ſmall vicarages ſufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a miniſter. The profit of ten or a dozen of theſe unions ſeldom amounts to above eighty or a hundred pounds a year. If there be a very few dignitaries, whoſe preferments are perhaps more liable to this accuſation, it is to be ſuppoſed, they may be favourites of the time; or perſons of ſuperior merit, for whom there has ever been ſome indulgence in all governments.

As to non-reſidence, I believe there is no chriſtian country upon earth, where the clergy have leſs to anſwer for upon that article. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who, properly ſpeaking, can be termed non-reſidents: for ſurely we are not to reckon in that number, thoſe, who for want of glebes are forced to retire to the neareſt neighbouring village for a cabbin to put their heads in; the leading man of the pariſh, when he makes the greateſt clamour, being leaſt diſpoſed to accommodate the miniſter with an acre of ground. And indeed, conſidering the difficulties the clergy lie under upon this head, it has been frequent matter of wonder to me, how they

are able to perform that part of their duty, ſo well as they do.

There is a * noble author, who has lately addreſſed to the houſe of Commons an excellent diſcourſe for the encouragement of agriculture; full of moſt uſeful hints, which I hope that honourable aſſembly will conſider as they deſerve. I am no ſtranger to his lordſhip; and, excepting in what relates to the church, there are few perſons with whoſe opinions I am better pleaſed to agree; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniences in the payment of tithes upon the clergy and their proctors. His lordſhip is above conſidering a very known and vulgar truth, that the meaneſt farmer has all manner of advantages againſt the moſt powerful clergyman, by whom it is impoſſible he can be wronged, although the miniſter were ever ſo ill diſpoſed; the whole ſyſtem of teizing, perplexing, and defrauding the proctor, or his maſter, being as well known to every plowman, as the reaping or ſowing of his corn, and much more artfully practiſed. Beſides, the leading man in the pariſh muſt have his tithes at his own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many ſkilful obſervers, whoſe intereſt was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive, throughout the kingdom, one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his lordſhip's diſcontent againſt the biſhops-court, I ſhall not interpoſe farther than in venturing

* The late Lord Moleſworth.

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my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their juſt dues, by a more ſhort, deciſive, and compulſive method, than ſuch a cramped and limited juriſdiction will allow.

His lordſhip is not the only perſon, diſpoſed to give the clergy the honour of being the ſole encouragers of all new improvements. If hops, hemp, flax, and twenty things more are to be planted, the clergy alone muſt reward the induſtrious farmer by abatement of the tithe. What if the owner of nine parts in ten, would pleaſe to abate proportionably in his rent for every acre thus improved? Would not a man juſt dropt from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at leaſt as reaſonable?

I believe no man will diſpute his lordſhip's title to his eſtate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of tithes, which he mentions with ſome emotion. I ſuppoſe the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the ſame reaſon, that a maxim in law has more weight in the world than an article of faith. And yet I think there may be ſuch a thing as ſacrilege; becauſe it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman authors, as well as deſcribed in holy writ. This I am ſure of; that his lordſhip would at any time excuſe a Parliament, for not concerning itſelf in his properties, without his own conſent.

The obſervations I have made upon his lordſhip's diſcourſe, have not, I confeſs, been altogether proper to my ſubject: however, ſince he has been pleaſed therein to offer ſome propoſals to the Houſe

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of Commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuſe me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own principle, the deſire of defending liberty and property, that he has ſo ſtrenuouſly and conſtantly maintained.

But the other writer, openly declares for a law impowering the biſhops to ſet fee-farms; and ſays, "Whoever intimates, that they will deny their "conſent to ſuch a reaſonable law, which the "whole nation cries for, are enemies to them and "the church." Whether this be his real opinion, or only a ſtrain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my ſentiments are ſo directly contrary to his, that I think, whoever impartially reads and conſiders what I have written upon this argument, has either no regard for the church eſtabliſhed under the hierarchy of biſhops, or will never conſent to any law, that ſhall repeal or elude the limiting clauſe relating to the real half value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli*. For the preſervation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the church and perſons eccleſiaſtical; which was grounded upon reaſons, that do ſtill, and muſt for ever ſubſiſt.

October 21,
1723.

THE PRESBYTERIANS PLEA OF MERIT IN ORDER TO TAKE OFF THE TEST IMPARTIALLY EXAMINED.

Written in the Year 1731.

WE have been told, in the common newſpapers, that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the preſbyterians, and their abettors, for taking off the teſt; as a kind of preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in England. For, if once their light would ſo ſhine, the papiſts, delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a diſcreet phyſician, who firſt gives a new medicine to a dog, before he preſcribes it to a human creature.

The preſbyterians have, ever ſince the Revolulution, directed their learned caſuiſts to employ their pens on this ſubject, by ſhewing their merits and pretenſions, upon which they claim this juſtice, as founded upon the ſervices they did towards

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the reſtoration of king Charles the ſecond, and at the Revolution under the prince of Orange. Which pleas, I take to be the moſt ſingular in their kind, that ever were offered in the face of the ſun, againſt the moſt glaring lights of truth, and againſt a continuation of public facts, known to all Europe, for twenty years together. I ſhall therefore impartially examine the merits and conduct of the preſbyterians, upon thoſe two great events; and the pretenſions to favour, which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in England, under Edward the ſixth, upon Queen Mary's ſucceeding to the crown (who reſtored popery) many proteſtants fled out of England, to eſcape the perſecution raiſed againſt the church, as her brother had left it eſtabliſhed. Some of theſe exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of biſhops; with many other refinements. Theſe Engliſh exiles readily embraced the Geneva ſyſtem; and having added farther improvements of their own, upon queen Mary's death returned to England; where they preached up their own opinions, inveighing bitterly againſt epiſcopacy, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and ancient in the church: building upon this foundation, to run as far as poſſible from popery, even in the moſt minute and indifferent circumſtances. This faction, under the name of puritan, became very turbulent during the whole reign of queen Elizabeth, and were always diſcouraged by that wiſe queen,

as well as by her two ſucceſſors. However, their numbers, as well as their inſolence and perverſeneſs, ſo far increaſed, that ſoon after the death of king James the firſt, many inſtances of their petulancy and ſcurrility are to be ſeen in their pamphlets, written for ſome years after (which was a trade they began in the days of queen Elizabeth) particularly with great rancour againſt the biſhops, the habits, and the ceremonies: ſuch were thoſe ſcurrilous libels under the title of Martin Mar-prelate, and ſeveral others. And although the earl of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a ſtate of perfect peace and happineſs, without the leaſt appearance of thought or deſign toward making any alterations in religion or government; yet I have found, by often rummaging for old books in Little Britain and Duck-lane, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640, full of as bold and impious railing expreſſions againſt the lawful power of the crown, and the order of biſhops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion, or the whole ſubſequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy. However, I find it manifeſt that puritaniſm did not erect itſelf into a new ſeparate ſpecies of religion, till ſome time after the rebellion began. For, in the latter times of king James the firſt, and the former part of his ſon, there were ſeveral puritan biſhops, and many puritan private clergymen; while people went, as their inclinations led them, to hear preachers of each party in the pariſh churches; for the puritan clergy had received epiſ-

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copal orders, as well as the reſt. But ſoon after the rebellion broke out, the term puritan gradually dropt, and that of preſbyterian ſucceeded; which ſect was in two or three years eſtabliſhed in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of the lords and commons, without conſulting the king, who was then at war againſt his rebels. And from this period, the church continued under perſecution, until monarchy was reſtored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after we began to hear of a new party riſen, and growing in the parliament as well as the army, under the name of independent: it ſpread indeed ſomewhat more in the latter, but not equal with the preſbyterians, either in weight or number, until the very time the king was murdered.

When the king, who was then a priſoner in the iſle of Wight, had made his laſt conceſſions for a peace to the commiſſioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to London they reported his majeſty's anſwer in the houſe. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow ſays, had ſecured their own terms with that prince, managed with ſo much art, as to obtain a majority in a thin houſe for paſſing a vote, that the king's conceſſions were a ground for a future ſettlement. But the great officers of the army, joining with the diſcontented members, came to a reſolution of excluding all thoſe who had conſented to that vote; which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid preſ-

byterian, of this reſolution; who thereupon iſſued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Weſtminſter-hall, the court of requeſts, and the lobby; who, in obedience to the general, in conjunction with thoſe members who had oppoſed the vote, would let no member enter the houſe, except thoſe of their own party. Upon which, the queſtion for bringing the king to juſtice was immediately put, and carried without oppoſition that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himſelf was one; although, by the advice or threats of his wife, he declined ſitting among them. However, by freſh orders under his own hand, which I have ſeen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewiſe to prevent any oppoſition from the people, upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced, it appears manifeſt, that the differences between theſe two ſects, preſbyterian and independent, did not then amount to half ſo much, as what there is between a whig and tory at preſent among us. The deſign of utterly extirpating monarchy and epiſcopacy, was equally the ſame in both; evidently the conſequence of the very ſame principles, upon which the preſbyterians alone began, continued, and would have ended in the ſame events; if, towards the concluſion, they had not been bearded by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the ſpoil. However, they held a good

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ſhare of civil and military employments during the whole time of the uſurpation; and their names, actions, and preferments, are frequent in the accounts of thoſe times. For I make no doubt, that all the prudent preſbyterians complied in proper ſeaſons, falling in with the ſtream; and thereby got that ſhare in employments, which many of them held to the Reſtoration; and perhaps too many of them after. In the ſame manner, we find our wiſeſt tories in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and meaſures at the queen's death, have endeavoured for ſeveral years, by due compliances, to recover the time they had loſt by a temporary obſtinacy; wherein they have well ſucceeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whoſe names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modeſty. As to what is alleged, that ſome of the preſbyterians declared openly againſt the king's murder, I allow it to be true. But from what motives? No other can poſſibly be aſſigned than perfect ſpite, rage, and envy, to find themſelves wormed out of all power, by a new infant ſpawn of independents, ſprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them, are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national aſſemblies. But wherever intereſt or power think fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the oppoſite parties think fit to charge upon each other: for we ſee at this day, that the tories are more hated by the whole ſet of zealous whigs, than the very

papiſts themſelves; and in effect as much unqualified for the ſmalleſt office: although both theſe parties aſſert themſelves to be of the ſame religion, in all its branches of doctrine and diſcipline; and profeſs the ſame loyalty, to the ſame proteſtant king, and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this independent party, upon whom all the miſchief is charged by their preſbyterian brethren, he may pleaſe to obſerve, that during the whole uſurpation, they contended by degrees with their parent ſect, and, as I have already ſaid, ſhared in employments, and gradually, after the Reſtoration, mingled with the maſs of preſbyterians; lying ever ſince undiſtinguiſhed in the herd of diſſenters.

The preſbyterian merit is of as little weight, when they allege themſelves inſtrumental towards the king's reſtoration. The kingdom grew tired with thoſe ridiculous models of government: firſt, by a houſe of lords and commons without a king; then, without biſhops; afterwards, by a rump * and lords temporal; then, by a rump alone; next, by a ſingle perſon for life, in cunjunction with a council; by agitators; by major-generals; by a new kind of repreſentatives from the three kingdoms; by the keepers of the liberties of England; with other ſchemes that have ſlipt out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; his ſon Richard, a

* This name was given to that part of the houſe of commons, which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force.

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weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy much in the ſame manner with the two uſurping kings of Brentford *; the people haraſſed with taxes, and other oppreſſions. The king's party, then called the Cavaliers, began to recover their ſpirits. The few nobility ſcattered through the kingdom, who lived in a moſt retired manner, obſerving the confuſion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, coblers, brewers, and the like, at the head of armies, and plundering every where like French dragoons. The rump aſſembly grew deſpicable to thoſe who had raiſed them: the city of London, exhauſted by almoſt twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared againſt them. The rump, after many deaths and reſurrections, was, in the moſt contemptuous manner, kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The excluded members were let in; a free parliament called, in as legal a manner as the times would allow; and the king reſtored.

The ſecond claim of preſbyterian merit, is founded upon their ſervices againſt the dangerous deſigns of king James the ſecond, while that prince was uſing all his endeavours to introduce popery, which he openly profeſſed upon his coming to the crown: to this, they add their eminent ſervices at the Revolution, under the prince of Orange.

Now the quantum of preſbyterian merit during the four years reign of that weak, bigoted, and ill-adviſed prince, as well as at the time of the Revo-

* In the Rehearſal.

lution, will eaſily be computed, by a recourſe to a great number of hiſtories, pamphlets, and public papers, printed in thoſe times, and ſome afterwards; beſide the verbal teſtimonies of many perſons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and obſerved the diſſenters conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon king Charles the ſecond's death, ſoon after his ſucceſſor had publicly owned himſelf a Roman catholick, he began with his firſt careſſes to the church party; from whom having received very cold diſcouraging anſwers, he applied to the preſbyterian leaders and teachers; being adviſed by his prieſts and popiſh courtiers, that the ſafeſt method towards introducing his own religion, would be, by taking off the ſacramental teſt, and giving a full liberty of conſcience to all religions, I ſuppoſe that profeſſed chriſtianity. It ſeems that the preſbyterians in the latter years of king Charles the ſecond, upon account of certain plots (allowed by biſhop Burnet to be genuine) had been for a ſhort time forbidden to hold their conventicles. Whereupon theſe charitable chriſtians, out of perfect reſentment againſt the church, received the gracious offers of king James with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty, and higheſt acknowledgments for his favour. I have ſeen ſeveral of their addreſſes, full of thanks and praiſes, with bitter inſinuations of what they had ſuffered; putting themſelves and the papiſts upon the ſame foot, as fellow-ſufferers for conſcience; and with the ſtyle of our brethren the Roman catholicks. About this time

time began the project of cloſeting, which has ſince been practiſed many times with more art and ſucceſs, where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechiſed by his majeſty, to know, whether if a new parliament were called, they would agree to paſs an act for repealing the ſacramental teſt, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of conſcience. But he received ſo little encouragement, that deſpairing of ſucceſs, he had recourſe to his diſpenſing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination, he preferred ſeveral preſbyterians, and many papiſts, to civil and military employments. While the king was thus buſied, it is well known that monſieur Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the prince and princeſs of Orange concerning the repeal of the teſt; whereof the king had ſent an account to their highneſſes, to know how far they approved of it. The ſubſtance of their anſwer, as reported by Fagel, was this, "That their highneſſes thought very well of "a liberty of conſcience; but by no means of giv-"ing employments to any other perſons, than "thoſe who were of the national church." This opinion was confirmed by ſeveral reaſons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it has been printed in many accounts of thoſe times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps ſubmit to: but to truſt any part of the civil power in the hands of thoſe, whoſe intereſt, inclination, conſcience, and former practices, have been wholly turned to introduce a different

different ſyſtem of religion and government, has very few examples in any chriſtian ſtate; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroneſs of univerſal toleration.

Upon the firſt intelligence king James received of an intended invaſion by the prince of Orange, among great numbers of papiſts, to increaſe his troops, he gave commiſſions to ſeveral preſbyterians; ſome of whom had been officers under the rump; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted preſbyterian, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his Memoirs. This regiment was raiſed in England againſt the prince of Orange: the colonel made his ſon a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a preſbyterian as his father. However, at the time of the prince's landing, the father, eaſily foreſeeing how things would go, went over, like many others, to the prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after to aſſiſt in raiſing the ſiege of Derry, he behaved himſelf ſo like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now conſider the conduct of the church party, during the whole reign of that unfortunate king. They were ſo unanimous againſt promiſing to paſs an act for repealing the teſt, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of conſcience, that the king durſt not truſt a parliament; but, encouraged by the profeſſions of loyalty given him by his preſbyterian friends, went on with his diſpenſing power.

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The church clergy, at that time, are allowed to have written the beſt collection of tracts againſt popery, that ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the higheſt eſteem. But, upon the ſtricteſt enquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers publiſhed by the preſbyterians at that time, upon the ſame ſubject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the reſt) were ſent to the Tower for preſenting a petition, wherein they deſired to be excuſed in not obeying an illegal command from the king. The biſhop of London, Dr. Compton, was ſummoned to anſwer before the commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs, for not ſuſpending Dr. Sharp (afterwards archbiſhop of York) by the king's command. If the preſbyterians expreſſed the ſame zeal upon any occaſion, the inſtances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or tranſmitted by tradition. The proceedings againſt Magdalen college in Oxford, for refuſing to comply with the king's mandate for admitting a profeſſed papiſt upon their foundation, are a ſtanding proof of the courage and firmneſs in religion ſhewn by that learned ſociety, to the ruin of their fortunes. The preſbyterians know very well, that I could produce many more inſtances of the ſame kind. But theſe are enough in ſo ſhort a paper as I intend at preſent.

It is indeed very true, that after king William was ſettled on the Engliſh throne, the preſbyterians began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new king, having been originally bred a Calviniſt, was deſirous enough to

make them eaſy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that ſect; nor deſigned to favour them farther than as it ſtood with the preſent ſcheme of politicks; as I have long ſince been aſſured by the greateſt men of whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewiſe true, nor will it be denied, that when the king was poſſeſſed of the Engliſh crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the preſbyterians wiſely choſe to join with the proteſtant army, rather than with that of king James their old friend, whoſe affairs were then in a manner deſperate. They were wiſe enough to know, that this kingdom divided againſt itſelf, could never prevail againſt the united power of England. They fought *pro aris & focis*; for their eſtates and religion; which latter will never ſuffer ſo much by the church of England, as by that of Rome, where they are counted hereticks as well as we: and conſequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a proteſtant army, under a king they ackowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties againſt a popiſh enemy, under an abdicated king, is, I confeſs, to me abſolutely inconceivable; and I believe will equally be ſo for ever to any reaſonable man.

When theſe ſectaries were ſeveral years ago making the ſame attempt for aboliſhing the teſt, many groundleſs reports were induſtriouſly and ſeaſonably ſpread, of an invaſion threatened by the

Pretender

Pretender on the north of Ireland. At which time, the preſbyterians, in their pamphlets, argued in a menacing manner, that if the Pretender ſhould invade thoſe parts of the kingdom, where the numbers and eſtates of the diſſenters chiefly lay, they would ſit ſtill, and let us fight our own battles; ſince they were to reap no advantage, whichever ſide ſhould be victors. If this were the courſe they intended to take in ſuch a caſe, I deſire to know, how they could contrive ſafely to ſtand neuters, otherwiſe than by a compact with the Pretender and his army, to ſupport their neutrality, and protect them againſt the forces of the crown? This is a neceſſary ſuppoſition; becauſe they muſt otherwiſe have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration, they ſufficiently ſhewed their good will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door; that a Scottiſh or northern preſbyterian, hates our epiſcopal eſtabliſhed church, more than popery itſelf. And the reaſon for this hatred is natural enough; becauſe it is the church alone that ſtands in the way between them and power, which popery does not.

Upon this occaſion, I am in ſome doubt, whether the political ſpreaders of thoſe chimerical invaſions, made a judicious choice, in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterprize. Nor can I well underſtand the wiſdom of the preſbyterians, in countenancing and confirming thoſe reports; becauſe it ſeems to caſt a moſt infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body: for, if there had been

been any truth in the matter, the conſequence muſt have been allowed, that the Pretender counted upon more aſſiſtance from his father's friends the preſbyterians, by chooſing to land in thoſe very parts where their number, wealth, and power moſt prevailed, rather than among thoſe of his own religion. And therefore, in charity to this ſect, I rather incline to believe, that thoſe reports of an invaſion were formed and ſpread by the race of ſmall politicians, in order to do a ſeaſonable job.

As to popery in general, which for a thouſand years paſt has been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and diſcipline; I look upon it to be the moſt abſurd ſyſtem of chriſtianity, profeſſed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The eſtates of papiſts are very few; crumbling into ſmall parcels, and daily diminiſhing; their common people are ſunk in poverty, ignorance, and cowardice; and of as little conſequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at leaſt one half ruined, baniſhed, or converted: they all ſoundly feel the ſmart of what they ſuffered in the laſt Iriſh war: ſome of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the reſt, I believe, to a man, who ſtill poſſeſs any lands, are abſolutely determined never to hazard them again, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing their ſuperſtition. If it has been thought fit, as ſome obſerve, to abate of the law's rigour againſt popery in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wiſe reaſons, conſider-

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ing the ſituation of affairs abroad at different times, and the intereſt of the proteſtant religion in general. And as I do not find the leaſt fault in this proceeding, ſo I do not conceive, why a ſunk diſcarded party, who neither expect nor deſire any thing more than a quiet life, ſhould, under the names of high-flyers, jacobites, and many other vile appellations, be charged ſo often in print, and at common tables, with endeavouring to introduce popery and the Pretender; while the papiſts abhor them above all other men, on account of ſeverities againſt their prieſts in her late majeſty's reign, when the now diſbanded reprobate party was in power. This I was convinced of ſome years ago by a long journey into the ſouthern parts; where I had the curioſity to ſend for many prieſts of the pariſhes I paſſed through, and to my great ſatisfaction found them every where abounding in profeſſions of loyalty to the late king George; for which they gave me the reaſons above-mentioned; at the ſame time complaining bitterly of the hardſhips they ſuffered under the Queen's laſt miniſtry.

I return from this digreſſion to the modeſt demands of the preſbyterians for a repeal of the ſacramental teſt, as a reward for their merits at the Reſtoration and the Revolution; which merits I have fairly repreſented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any miſtakes, they muſt be of little moment. The facts and principal circumſtances are what I have obtained and digeſted from reading the hiſtories of thoſe times written by each party; and many thouſands

ſands have done the ſame as well as I, who I am ſure have in their minds drawn the ſame concluſions.

This is the faction, and theſe the men, who are now reſuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms, upon two points, which, of all others, they have the leaſt pretenſions to offer. I have collected the facts, with all poſſible impartiality, from the current hiſtories of thoſe times; and have ſhewn, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of thoſe ſectaries, under the denominations of puritans, preſbyterians and independents, for about the ſpace of a hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of queen Elizabeth to this preſent time. But, notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid, theſe very ſchiſmaticks (for ſuch they are in temporals as well as ſpirituals) are now again expecting, ſoliciting and demanding (not without inſinuated threats, according to their cuſtom) that the parliament ſhould fix them upon an equal foot with the church eſtabliſhed. I would fain know to what branch of the legiſlature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my lords the biſhops; who muſt have often read how the predeceſſors of this very faction, acting upon the ſame principles, drove the whole bench out of the houſe, who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three eſtates: not to the temporal peers, the ſecond of the three eſtates, who muſt have heard, that immediately after thoſe rebellious fanaticks had murdered their king, they voted a houſe of lords to be uſeleſs and dangerous, and would let them ſit

no longer, otherwiſe than when elected as commoners: not to the houſe of commons; who muſt have heard, that in thoſe fanatic times, the preſbyterian and independent commanders in the army, by military power expelled all the moderate men out of the houſe, and left a rump to govern the nation: laſtly, not to the crown; which thoſe very ſaints, deſtined to rule the earth, trampled under their feet, and then in cold blood murdered the bleſſed wearer.

But the ſeſſion now approaching, and a clan of diſſenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and ſupported by a general contribution to ſolicit their eſtabliſhment, with a capacity of holding all military, as well as civil employments, I think it high time that this paper ſhould ſee the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confeſſing, that if the preſbyterians ſhould obtain their ends, I could not be ſorry to find them miſtaken in the point which they have moſt at heart, by the repeal of the teſt, I mean the benefit of employments. For, after all, what aſſurance can a Scottiſh northern diſſenter born on Iriſh ground have, that he ſhall be treated with as much favour as a true Scot born beyond the Tweed?

I am ready enough to believe, that all I have ſaid will avail but little. I have the common excuſe of other men, when I think myſelf bound by all religious and civil ties to diſcharge my conſcience, and to warn my countrymen upon this

important occaſion. It is true, the advocates for this ſcheme promiſe a new world after this bleſſed work ſhall be completed; that all animoſity and faction muſt immediately drop; that the only diſtinction in this kingdom will then be of papiſt and proteſtant: for, as to whig and tory, high church and low church, jacobite and Hanoverian, court and country party, Engliſh and Iriſh intereſts, diſſenters and conformiſts, new light and old light, anabaptiſt and independent, quaker and muggletonian; they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect harmony, at the ſeſſions and aſſizes, on the bench and in the revenues; and upon the whole, in all civil and military truſts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wiſely argued thus: that a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is againſt the rules of good-manners to ſhut any perſon out of the company, except the papiſts, who profeſs themſelves of another club.

I am at a loſs to know, what arts the preſbyterian ſect intends to uſe, in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their independent rivals) as ſoon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be againſt monarchy, as well as epiſcopacy and the houſe of lords, even until the king was reſtored: at which event, although they were forced to ſubmit to the preſent power, yet I have not heard that they ever, to this day, renounce any one principle, by which their predeceſſors then acted; yet this they

have

have been challenged to do, or at leaſt to ſhew that others have done it for them, by a certain * doctor, who, as I am told, has much employed his pen in the like diſputes. I own, they will be ready enough to inſinuate themſelves into any government: but if they mean to be honeſt and upright, they will and muſt endeavour, by all means which they ſhall think lawful, to introduce and eſtabliſh their own ſcheme of religion, as neareſt approaching to the word of God, by caſting out all ſuperſtitious ceremonies, eccleſiaſtical titles, habits, diſtinctions, and ſuperiorities, as rags of popery, in order to a thorough reformation; and as in charity bound to promote the ſalvation of their countrymen, wiſhing with St. Paul, that the whole kingdom were as they are. But what aſſurance will they pleaſe to give, that when their ſect ſhall become the national eſtabliſhed worſhip, they will treat Us Diſſenters as we have treated them? Was this their courſe of proceeding during the dominion of the ſaints? Were not all the remainders of the epiſcopal church in thoſe days, eſpecially the clergy, under a perſecution, for above a dozen years, equal to that of the primitive Chriſtians under heathen emperors? That this proceeding was ſuitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books expreſly againſt allowing any liberty of conſcience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and among the reſt one fre-

* The late Dr. Tiſdal.

quently inſiſted on; that allowing ſuch a liberty would be to eſtabliſh iniquity by a law *. Many of theſe writings are yet to be ſeen; and I hear have been quoted by the doctor abovementioned.

As to their great objection of proſtituting that holy inſtitution, the bleſſed ſacrament, by way of a teſt before admittance into any employment; I aſk, whether they would not be content to receive it after their own manner for the office of a judge, for that of a commiſſioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horſe, or to be a lord juſtice? I believe they would ſcruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can ſay without bending a knee; for, as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine in their conventicles, is performed with little more ſolemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, ſince they look upon our practice in receiving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can, nor ought in conſcience to allow us that liberty, otherwiſe than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the papiſts. But leſt we ſhould offend them, I am ready to change this teſt for another; although I am afraid, that ſanctified reaſon is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing, that the impiety and profanation of making the ſacrament a teſt, were the only objection. I therefore propoſe,

* See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the treatiſe called, "Scotch Preſbyterian Eloquence."

that

that before the preſent law be repealed, another may be enacted; that no man ſhall receive any employment, before he ſwears himſelf to be a true member of the church of Ireland, in doctrine and diſcipline, &c. and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worſhip. It ſhall likewiſe be farther enacted, that whoever offends, &c. ſhall be fined five hundred pounds, impriſoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all public truſt for ever. Otherwiſe I do inſiſt, that thoſe pious, indulgent, external profeſſors of our national religion, ſhall either give up that fallacious hypocritical reaſon for taking off the teſt; or freely confeſs that they deſire to have a gate wide open for every ſect, without any teſt at all, except that of ſwearing loyalty to the king: which however, conſidering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would pleaſe to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter teſt, than any other that the law has yet invented.

For, from the firſt time that theſe ſectaries appeared in the world, it has been always found, by their whole proceedings, that they profeſſed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at preſent three civil eſtabliſhments, where Calviniſts, and ſome other reformers who rejected epiſcopacy, poſſeſs the ſupreme power; and theſe are all republicks; I mean Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiſs cantons. I do not ſay this in diminution or diſgrace to commonwealths; wherein I confeſs I have much altered many opinions under which I was

educated, having been led by ſome obſervation, long experience, and a thorough deteſtation for the corruptions of mankind: inſomuch that I am now juſtly liable to the cenſure of Hobbes, who complains, that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the hiſtories of ancient Greece and Rome, thoſe renowned ſcenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who muſt be ſuppoſed well to ſtudy and underſtand their own intereſt; they will beſt conſider, whether thoſe people, who in all their actions, preachings, and writings, have openly declared themſelves againſt regal power, are to be ſafely placed in an equal degree of favour and truſt, with thoſe, who have been always found the true and only friends to the Engliſh eſtabliſhment. From which conſideration, I could have added one more article to my new teſt, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been aſſured by ſome perſons who were preſent, that ſeveral of theſe diſſenting teachers, upon their firſt arrival * hither to ſolicit the repeal of the teſt, were pleaſed to expreſs their gratitude by publicly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the teſt muſt be delivered up by the very ſuperiors appointed to defend it; the affair is already in effect at an end. What ſecret reaſons thoſe patrons may have given for ſuch a return of brotherly love, I ſhall not enquire:

* Arrival *hither*, is not Engliſh; it ſhould be, arrival *here*.

quire: "for, O my ſoul, come not thou into their
"ſecret; unto their aſſembly, mine honour, be
"not thou united. For, in their anger they ſlew
"a man, and in their ſelf-will they digged down
"a wall. Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce,
"and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide
"them in Jacob, and ſcatter them in Iſrael."

THE

ADVANTAGES

PROPOSED BY

REPEALING THE SACRAMENTAL TEST,

IMPARTIALLY CONSIDERED.

Written in the year 1732.

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this ſubject, muſt do it not only as a mere ſecular man, but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular ſyſtem of Chriſtianity. And I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worſhip and ceremony, which is looked upon as the eſtabliſhed; and conſequently, only the prieſts of that particular form are maintained at the public charge; and all civil employments beſtowed among thoſe who comply (at leaſt outwardly) with the ſame eſtabliſhment.

This method is ſtrictly obſerved, even by our neighbours the Dutch; who are confeſſed to allow the fulleſt liberty of conſcience of any Chriſtian ſtate, and yet are never known to admit any perſons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worſhip.

worſhip. As to their military men, they are indeed not ſo ſcrupulous; being, by the nature of their government, under a neceſſity of hiring foreign troops of whatever religious denomination upon every great emergency, and maintaining no ſmall number in time of peace.

This caution therefore of making one eſtabliſhed faith, ſeems to be univerſal, and founded upon the ſtrongeſt reaſons; the miſtaken, or affected zeal of obſtinacy and enthuſiaſm, having produced ſuch a number of horrible deſtructive events throughout all Chriſtendom. For, whoever begins to think the national worſhip is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be ſerious, naturally have a zeal to make as many proſelytes as he can: and a nation may poſſibly have a hundred different ſects with their leaders; every one of which has an equal right to plead, that they muſt "obey "God rather than man;" muſt "cry aloud and ſpare "not;" muſt "lift up their voice like a trumpet."

This was the very caſe of England during the fanatic times. And againſt all this there ſeems to be no defence, but that of ſupporting one eſtabliſhed form of doctrine and diſcipline; leaving the reſt to a bare liberty of conſcience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the publick.

Wherever this national religion grows ſo corrupt, or is thought to do ſo by a very great majority of landed people, joined to the governing party, whether prince or ſenate, or both, it ought to be changed, provided the work might be done without

out blood or confuſion. Yet, whenever ſuch a change ſhall be made, ſome other eſtabliſhment muſt ſucceed, although for the worſe; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this ſenſe, thoſe who affirm that every law, which is contrary to the law of God, is void in itſelf, ſeem to be miſtaken: for many laws in popiſh kingdoms and ſtates, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly againſt the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

Thus, for inſtance, if the three eſtates of parliament in England (whereof the lords ſpiritual, who repreſent the church, are one) ſhould agree and obtain the royal aſſent to aboliſh epiſcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of the Engliſh church, as burdenſome, dangerous, and contrary to holy ſcripture; and that preſbytery, anabaptiſm, quakeriſm, independency, Muggletonianiſm, Browniſm, familiſm, or any other ſubdivided ſect among us, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in its place: without queſtion all peaceable ſubjects ought paſſively to ſubmit, and the predominant ſect muſt become the religion eſtabliſhed; the publick maintaining no other teachers, nor admitting any perſons of a different religious profeſſion into civil offices, at leaſt if their intention be to preſerve the nation in peace.

Suppoſing then that the preſent ſyſtem of religion were aboliſhed; and preſbytery, which I find ſtands the faireſt, with its ſynods and claſſes, and all its

forms and ceremonies, eſſential or circumſtantial, were erected into the national worſhip: their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be ſupported at the public charge, whether by ſtipends or tithes; and only the reſt of the ſame faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reaſoning in what I have laid down, it ſhould ſeem, that the project now in agitation for repealing the teſt act, and yet leaving the name of an eſtabliſhment to the preſent national church, is altogether inconſiſtent; and may admit of conſequences, which thoſe who are the moſt indifferent to any religion at all, are poſſibly not aware of.

I preſume, whenever the teſt ſhall be repealed, which obliges all men, who enter into office under the crown, to receive the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all diſſenters (except papiſts) whoſe conſciences can ſuffer them to take the common oaths in ſuch caſes preſcribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any lay-ſtation in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an exciſe-man.

Thus, of the three judges on each bench, the firſt may be a preſbyterian, the ſecond a free-will baptiſt, and the third a churchman; the lord chancellor may be an independent; the revenues may be managed by ſeven commiſſioners of as many different ſects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the ſtrong probability, that the lawful-

neſs

neſs of taking oaths may be revealed to the quakers, who then will ſtand upon as good a foot for preferment as any other loyal ſubjects. It is obvious to imagine, that under ſuch a motley adminiſtration of affairs, what a claſhing there will be of intereſt and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and bias in each religioniſt, to advance his own tribe, and depreſs the others. For I ſuppoſe nothing will be readier * granted, than that how indifferent ſoever moſt men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obſtinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than thoſe who publicly ſhew the leaſt ſenſe either of religion or common honeſty.

As to the latter, biſhop Burnet tells us, that the preſbyterians, in the fanatic times, profeſſed themſelves to be above morality; which, as we find in ſome of their writings, was numbered among the beggarly elements: and accordingly at this day, no ſcruples of conſcience with regard to conformity, are, in any trade or calling, inconſiſtent with the greateſt fraud, oppreſſions, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a paſſage in Montaigne, of a common proſtitute, who in the ſtorming of a town, when a ſoldier came up to her chamber and offered violence to her chaſtity, rather choſe to venture her neck by leaping out of the

* *Readier* granted—a bad idiom; it ſhould be—*more readily* granted.

window;

window, than ſuffer a rape; yet ſtill continued her trade of lewdneſs, while ſhe had any cuſtomers left.

I confeſs, that in my private judgment, an unlimited permiſſion of all ſects whatſoever (except papiſts) to enjoy employments, would be leſs pernicious to the publick, than a fair ſtruggle between two contenders; becauſe, in the former caſe, ſuch a jumble of principles might poſſibly have the effect of contrary poiſons mingled together; which a ſtrong conſtitution might perhaps be able for ſome time to ſurvive.

But however I ſhall take the other and more probable ſuppoſition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the preſbyterians, and thoſe of the church yet eſtabliſhed. I ſhall not enter into the merits of either ſide, by examining which of the two is the better ſpiritual œconomy, or which is moſt ſuited to our civil conſtitution: but the queſtion turns upon this point: when the preſbyterians ſhall have got their ſhare of employments (which muſt be one full half, or elſe they cannot look upon themſelves as fairly dealt with) I aſk, whether they ought not, by their own principles, and by the ſtricteſt rules of conſcience, to uſe the utmoſt of their ſkill, power, and influence, in order to reduce the whole kingdom to a uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and diſcipline, moſt agreeable to the word of God. Wherein if they can ſucceed without blood (as under the preſent diſpoſition of things it is very poſſible they may) it is to be hoped they will at laſt be ſatisfied: only

only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The firſt is, of compromiſing among themſelves, that important controverſy about the old light and the new; which otherwiſe may, after this eſtabliſhment, ſplit them as wide as papiſt and proteſtant, whig and tory, or churchman and diſſenter; and conſequently the work will be to begin again: for, in religious quarrels, it is of little moment how few or ſmall the differences are; eſpecially when the diſpute is only about power. Thus, the zealous preſbyterians of the north, are more alienated from the eſtabliſhed clergy, than from the Romiſh prieſts; taxing the former with idolatrous worſhip, as diſguiſed papiſts, ceremony-mongers, and many other terms of art; and this for a very powerful reaſon; becauſe the clergy ſtand in their way, which the popiſh prieſts do not. Thus, I am aſſured, that the quarrel between old and new light-men is managed with more rage and rancour, than any other diſpute of the higheſt importance; and this, becauſe it ſerves to leſſen or increaſe their ſeveral congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

Another difficulty, which may embarraſs the preſbyterians after their eſtabliſhment, will be, how to adjuſt their claim of the kirk's independency on the civil power, with the conſtitution of this monarchy? a point ſo delicate, that it has often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy, without the leaſt ground of ſuſpicion.

As to the preſbyterians allowing liberty of conſcience to thoſe epiſcopal principles, when their own kirk ſhall be predominant; their writers are ſo univerſally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during Oliver's reign, that I believe no reaſonable churchman (who muſt then be a diſſenter) will expect it.

I ſhall here take notice, that in the diviſion of employments among the preſbyterians, after this approaching repeal of the teſt-act, ſuppoſing them in proper time to have an equal ſhare, the odds will be three or four to one on their ſide, in any farther ſcheme they may have towards making their religion national. For, I reckon all thoſe gentlemen ſent over from England, whatever religion they profeſs, or have been educated in, to be of that party: ſince it is no mark of prudence for any perſons to oppoſe the current of a nation, where they are in ſome ſort only ſojourners; unleſs they have it in direction.

If there be any maxim in politicks not to be controuled, it muſt be the following: that thoſe, whoſe private intereſt is united with the intereſt of their country, ſuppoſing them to be of equal underſtanding with the reſt of their neighbours, will heartily wiſh that the nation ſhould thrive. Out of theſe, are indubitably excepted, all perſons who are ſent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; becauſe they cannot poſſibly bear any affection to the place where they ſojourn, even for life; their ſole buſineſs being to advance themſelves, by following the advice of their principals.

principals. I except likewiſe thoſe perſons who are taken into office, although natives of the land; becauſe they are greater gainers, while they keep their offices, than they could poſſibly be, by mending the miſerable condition of their country.

I except, thirdly, all hopers, who by balancing accounts with themſelves turn the ſcale on the ſame ſide; becauſe the ſtrong expectation of a good certain ſalary, will outweigh the loſs by bad rents, received out of lands in money-leſs times.

If my lords the biſhops, who I hear are now employed in a ſcheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferior clergy, ſhall in their wiſdom, and piety, and love of the church, conſent to this repeal of the teſt, I have not the leaſt doubt that the whole reverend body will cheerfully ſubmit to their ſpiritual fathers; of whoſe paternal tenderneſs for their welfare, they have found ſo many amazing inſtances.

I am not therefore under the leaſt concern about the clergy on this account. They will (for ſome time) be no great ſufferers by this repeal; becauſe I cannot recollect, among all our ſects, any one, that gives latitude enough to take the oaths required at an inſtitution to a church-living; and until that bar ſhall be removed, the preſent epiſcopal elergy are ſafe for two years. Although it may be thought ſomewhat unequal, that in the northern parts, where there may be three diſſenters to one churchman, the whole revenue ſhall be engroſſed by him, who has ſo ſmall a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this diſadvantage, which the diſſenters at preſent lie under, of a diſability to receive church-preferments, will be eaſily remedied by the repeal of the teſt. For, the diſſenting teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments; wherein they agree perfectly with the popiſh clergy; among whom, great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief miniſters, knights of many orders, ambaſſadors, ſecretaries of ſtate, and in moſt high offices under the crown; although they aſſert the indelible character, which no ſectaries among us did ever aſſume. But that many, both preſbyterians and independents, commanders as well as private ſoldiers, were profeſſed teachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himſelf was a preacher; and has left us one of his ſermons in print, exactly in the ſame ſtyle and manner with thoſe of our modern preſbyterian teachers: ſo was colonel Howard, Sir George Downing, and ſeveral others, whoſe names are on record. I can therefore ſee no reaſon, why a painful preſbyterian teacher, as ſoon as the teſt ſhall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold, along with the ſpiritual office and ſtipend, a commiſſion in the army or the civil liſt, *in commendam*: for, as I take it, the Church of England is the only body of Chriſtians, which in effect diſqualifies thoſe, who are employed to preach its doctrine, from ſharing in the civil power, farther than as ſenators: yet this was a privilege begun in times of popery, many hundred years before the Reformation, and

woven with the very inſtitution of our limited monarchy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the ſtipends of diſſenting teachers may be raiſed, and the farmer much relieved; if it ſhould be thought proper to reward a people ſo deſerving, and ſo loyal by their principles. Every biſhop, upon the vacancy of a church-living, can ſequeſter the profits for the uſe of the next incumbent. Upon a lapſe of half a year, the donation falls to the archbiſhop, and after a full year to the crown, during pleaſure. Therefore it would be no hardſhip for any clergyman alive, if (in thoſe parts of Ireland, where the number of ſectaries much exceeds that of the conformiſts) the profits, when ſequeſtered, might be applied to the ſupport of the diſſenting teacher, who has ſo many ſouls to take care of: whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved in thoſe hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, againſt which a remedy does not ſo readily occur. For, ſuppoſing the teſt-act repealed, and the diſſenters, in conſequence, fully qualified for all ſecular employments; the queſtion may ſtill be put, whether thoſe of Ireland will be often the perſons on whom they ſhall be beſtowed; becauſe it is imagined, there may be * another ſeminary in view, more numerous, and more needy, as well as more meriting, and more eaſily contented with ſuch low offices; which ſome nearer neighbours, hardly think it worth ſtirring from their chimney-ſides to

* Scotland.

obtain.

obtain. And I am told, it is the common practice of thoſe who are ſkilled in the management of bees, that when they ſee a foreign ſwarm at ſome diſtance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, theſe artiſts have a trick to divert them into ſome neighbouring apiary, there to make what havock they pleaſe. This I ſhould not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many ſuſpecting heads; for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to ſee dangers afar off: to all which I can only ſay, that our native preſbyterians muſt, by pains and induſtry, raiſe ſuch a fund of merit, as will anſwer to a birth ſix degrees more to the north. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as ſeveral of the eſtabliſhed church have compaſſed by indefatigable pains, I do not well ſee how their affairs will much mend by repealing the teſt: for, to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be diſqualified in fact, as it will much increaſe the mortification, ſo it will withdraw the pity of many among their well-wiſhers, and utterly deprive them of that merit they have ſo long made, of being a loyal true proteſtant people, perſecuted only for religion.

If this happen to be their caſe, they muſt wait maturity of time; until they can, by prudent gentle ſteps, make their faith become the religion eſtabliſhed in the nation; after which, I do not in the leaſt doubt that they will take the moſt effectual methods to ſecure their power, againſt thoſe who muſt then be diſſenters in their turn; whereof, if we may form a future opinion from preſent

times, and the diſpoſitions of diſſenters, who love to make a thorough reformation, the number and qualities will be very inconſiderable.

Thus I have, with the utmoſt ſincerity, after long thinking, given my judgment upon this arduous affair; but with the utmoſt deference and ſubmiſſion to public wiſdom and power.

QUERIES

RELATING TO THE

SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the Year 1732.

QUERY, WHETHER hatred and violence between parties in a ſtate, be not more inflamed by different views of intereſt, than by the greater or leſſer differences between them, either in religion or government?

Whether it be any part of the queſtion at this time, which of the two religions is worſe, popery or fanaticiſm; or not rather, which of the two (having both the ſame good will) is in the hopefuleſt condition to ruin the church?

Whether the ſectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the papiſts?

Whether the prevailing ſectaries could allow liberty of conſcience to diſſenters, without belying all their former practice, and almoſt all their former writings?

Whether many hundred thouſand Scotch preſbyterians are not fully as virulent againſt the epiſcopal church, as they are againſt the papiſts; or as they would have us think the papiſts are againſt them?

Whether the Dutch, who are moſt diſtinguiſhed for allowing liberty of conſcience, do ever admit any perſons, who profeſs a different ſcheme of worſhip from their own, into civil employments, although they may be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

Whether the diſſenters ever pretended, until of late years, to deſire more than a bare toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a ſorry pamphleteer aſſerts, who lately writ for repealing the teſt, that the diſſenters in this kingdom are equally numerous with the churchmen, it would not be a neceſſary point of prudence, by all proper and lawful means, to prevent their farther increaſe?

The great argument given, by thoſe whom they call low churchmen, to juſtify the large tolerations allowed to diſſenters, has been; that by ſuch indulgences, the rancour of thoſe ſectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties, in a little time, crumble to nothing.

Query, Whether if what the above pamphleteer aſſerts, that the ſectaries are equal in numbers with conformiſts, be true, it does not clearly follow, that thoſe repeated tolerations, have operated directly contrary, to what thoſe low church politicians pretended to foreſee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed, if he think his own profeſſion moſt agreeable to holy ſcripture, and the primitive church, can really wiſh in his heart, that all ſectaries

taries ſhould be upon an equal foot with the churchmen, in the point of civil power and employments?

Whether epiſcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apoſtolical inſtitution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that eſſential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether, by neceſſary conſequences, the ſeveral expedients among the ſectaries to conſtitute their teachers, are not abſolutely null and void?

Whether the ſectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from biſhops?

Whether the biſhops and clergy will be content to give up epiſcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well ſubſiſt?

Whether that great tenderneſs towards ſectaries, which now ſo much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of popery, or to that ſpirit of atheiſm, deiſm, ſcepticiſm, and univerſal immorality, which all good men ſo much lament?

Granting popery to have many more errors in religion, than any one branch of the ſectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of theſe kingdoms, with allowance for the ſhort time which the ſectaries had to act in, who are in a manner but of yeſterday. The papiſts, in the time of king James the Second, uſed all endeavours to eſtabliſh their ſuperſtition, wherein they failed, by the united power of Engliſh church-proteſtants, with the prince of Orange's aſſiſtance. But it cannot be aſſerted, that theſe bigoted papiſts had the leaſt deſign to oppoſe or murder their

king, much leſs, to aboliſh kingly government; nor was it their intereſt or inclination to attempt either.

On the other ſide the puritans, who had almoſt from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's ſide, joining with the Scotch enthuſiaſts, in the time of king Charles the Firſt, were the principal cauſe of the Iriſh rebellion and maſſacre, by diſtreſſing that prince, and making it impoſſible for him to ſend over timely ſuccours. And after that prince had ſatisfied his parliament in every ſingle point to be complained of, the ſame ſectaries, by poiſoning the minds and affections of the people, with the moſt falſe and wicked repreſentations of their king, were able, in the compaſs of a few years, to embroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion, at the expence of many thouſand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their prince in the face of the world, and (in their own ſtyle) to deſtroy the church root and branch.

The account therefore ſtands thus. The papiſts aimed at one pernicious act, which was to deſtroy the proteſtant religion; wherein by God's mercy, and the aſſiſtance of our glorious king William, they abſolutely failed. The ſectaries attempted the three moſt infernal actions that could poſſibly enter into the hearts of men forſaken by God; which were, the murder of a moſt pious king, the deſtruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and ſucceeded in them all.

Upon

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of thoſe ſectaries have ever yet in a ſolemn public manner renounced any one of thoſe principles, upon which their predeceſſors then acted?

Whether, conſidering the cruel perſecutions of the epiſcopal church during the courſe of that horrid rebellion, and the conſequences of it until the happy Reſtoration, it is not manifeſt, that the perſecuting ſpirit lies ſo equally divided between the papiſts and the ſectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either ſide?

And therefore, laſtly, Whether any perſon of common underſtanding, who profeſſes himſelf a member of the church eſtabliſhed, although perhaps with little inward regard to any religion (which is too often the caſe) if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can, after cool thinking, rejoice to ſee a power placed again in the hands of ſo reſtleſs, ſo ambitious, and ſo mercileſs a faction, to act over all the ſame parts a ſecond time?

Whether the candour of that expreſſion, ſo frequent of late in ſermons and pamphlets, of the ſtrength and number of the papiſts in Ireland, can be juſtified? for, as to their number, however great, it is always magnified in proportion to the zeal or politicks of the ſpeaker and writer; but it is a groſs impoſition upon common reaſon, to terrify us with their ſtrength. For, popery, under the circumſtances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offenſive and inconvenient enough from the conſequences it has to encreaſe the ra-

pine,

pine, ſloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that ſenſe, as ſome would have us take it; becauſe it is univerſally hated by every party of a different religious profeſſion. It is the contempt of the wiſe; the beſt topick for clamours of deſigning men; but the real terror only of fools. The landed popiſh intereſt in England, far exceeds that among us, even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each kingdom. The little that remains here, is daily dropping into proteſtant hands, by purchaſe or deſcent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit converts, will fall with the cauſe of it in half a generation, unleſs it be raiſed or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and eloquence. The papiſts are wholly diſarmed: they have neither courage, leaders, money, or inclinations to rebel: they want every advantage which they formerly poſſeſſed, to follow their trade; and wherein, even with thoſe advantages, they always miſcarried: they appear very eaſy and ſatisfied under that connivance, which they enjoyed during the whole laſt reign; nor ever ſcrupled to reproach another party, under which they pretend to have ſuffered ſo much ſeverity.

Upon theſe conſiderations, I muſt confeſs to have ſuſpended much of my pity towards the great dreaders of popery; many of whom appear to be hale, ſtrong, active, young men; who, as I am told, eat, drink, and ſleep heartily; and are very cheerful (as they have exceeding good reaſon) upon all other ſubjects. However, I cannot

too

too much commend the generous concern, which our neighbours, and others who come from the ſame neighbourhood, are ſo kind to expreſs for us upon this account; although the former, be farther removed from the danger of popery, by twenty leagues of ſalt water; but this, I fear, is a digreſſion.

When an artificial report was raiſed here many years ago, of an intended invaſion by the Pretender (which blew over after it had done its office) the diſſenters argued, in their talk and in their pamphlets, after this manner, applying themſelves to thoſe of the church: "Gentlemen, if "the Pretender had landed, as the law now "ſtands, we durſt not aſſiſt you; and therefore, "unleſs you take off the teſt, whenever you ſhall "happen to be invaded in earneſt, if we are de-"ſired to take up arms in your defence, our an-"ſwer ſhall be, "Pray, gentlemen, fight your "own battles; we will lie by quietly; conquer "your enemies by yourſelves, if you can; we "will not do your drudgery." This way of reaſoning I have heard from ſeveral of their chiefs and abettors, in a hundred converſations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project ſhould fail to take off the teſt.

Upon which piece of oratory and reaſoning I form the following query: Whether, in caſe of an invaſion from the Pretender (which is not quite ſo probable as from the grand ſignior) the diſſenters can, with prudence and ſafety, offer the

ſame

the ſame plea; except they ſhall have made a previous ſtipulation with the invaders? And whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives, and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, ſufficient motives for repelling invaſions; eſpecially in our ſectaries, who call themſelves the trueſt proteſtants, by virtue of their pretended or real fierceneſs againſt popery?

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the bleſſed king Charles the Firſt, enjoined by act of parliament, can be juſtly reckoned a particular and diſtinguiſhing mark of good affection to the preſent government?

Whether, in thoſe churches where the ſaid day is obſerved, it will fully anſwer the intent of the ſaid act, if the preacher ſhall commend, excuſe, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion, with all its conſequences, the following uſurpations, the entire deſtruction of the church, the cruel and continual perſecutions of thoſe who could be diſcovered to profeſs its doctrines, with the enſuing Babel of fanaticiſm, to the account of that bleſſed king; who, by granting the petition of right, and paſſing every bill that could be aſked for the ſecurity of the ſubject, had, by the confeſſion of thoſe wicked men before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether ſuch a preacher as I have named (whereof there have been more than one, not many

many years paſt, even in the preſence of viceroys) who takes that courſe as a means for promotion, may not be thought to ſtep a little out of the common road, in a monarchy, where the deſcendants of that moſt bleſſed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reaſon of making theſe queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

REASONS

HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE

PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND

FOR REPEALING THE

SACRAMENTAL TEST

IN

FAVOUR OF THE CATHOLICKS.

Written in 1732.

IT is well known, that the firſt conquerors of of this kingdom were Engliſh catholicks, ſubjects to Engliſh catholick kings, from whom by their valour and ſucceſs they obtained large portions of land, given them as a reward for their many victories over the Iriſh: to which merit, our brethren the diſſenters, of any denomination whatſoever, have not the leaſt pretenſions.

It is confeſſed, that the poſterity of thoſe firſt victorious catholicks, were often forced to riſe in their own defence, againſt new colonies from England, who treated them like mere native Iriſh with innumerable oppreſſions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them by force of arms into the moſt deſolate parts of the kingdom; till, in the next generation, the children of theſe tyrants were

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uſed in the ſame manner, by new Engliſh adventurers; which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, that no inſurrections were ever made, except after great oppreſſions by freſh invaders; whereas all the rebellions of puritans, preſbyterians, independents, and other ſectaries, conſtantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not ſuffered to change the government in church and ſtate, and ſeize both into their own hands; which, however, at laſt they did, with the murder of their king, and of many thouſands of his beſt ſubjects.

The catholicks were always defenders of monarchy, as conſtituted in theſe kingdoms; whereas, our brethren the diſſenters, were always republicans both in principle and practice.

It is well known, that all the catholicks of theſe kingdoms, both prieſts and laity, are true whigs, in the beſt and moſt proper ſenſe of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profeſſion, an entire loyalty to the royal houſe of Hanover, in the perſon and poſterity of George II., againſt the Pretender and all his adherents; to which they think themſelves bound in gratitude, as well as conſcience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated ſince the death of queen Anne, ſo different from what they ſuffered in the four laſt years of that princeſs, during the adminiſtration of that wicked miniſter the earl of Oxford.

The catholicks of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at leaſt as fair a title, as any of their brother diſſenters, to the appellation of proteſtants.

They have always proteſted againſt the ſelling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; againſt the uſurpations and avarice of the court of Rome; againſt deiſm, atheiſm, ſocinianiſm, quakeriſm, muggletonianiſm, fanaticiſm, browniſm, as well as againſt all Jews, Turks, infidels, and hereticks. Whereas the title of proteſtants aſſumed by the whole herd of diſſenters (except ourſelves) depends entirely upon their proteſting againſt archbiſhops, biſhops, deans and chapters, with their revenues; and the whole hierarchy; which are the very expreſſions uſed in the * ſolemn league and covenant, where the word popery is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; becauſe the catholicks agree with the epiſcopal church in thoſe fundamentals.

Although the catholicks cannot deny, that in the great rebellion againſt king Charles I., more ſoldiers of their religion were in the parliament army, than in his majeſty's troops; and that many jeſuits and friars went about, in the diſguiſe of preſbyterian and independent miniſters, to preach up rebellion, as the beſt hiſtorians of thoſe times inform us; yet the bulk of catholicks in both kingdoms preſerved their loyalty entire.

The catholicks have ſome reaſon to think it a little hard, when their enemies will not pleaſe to

* A ſolemn league and covenant entered into between the Scots and Engliſh fanaticks in the rebellion againſt king Charles I. 1643, by which they ſolemnly engaged among other things, "to endeavour "the extirpation of prelacy, that is, church government, by arch-"biſhops, biſhops, deans, archdeacons, and all other epiſcopal of-"ficers depending on that hierarchy."

diſtinguiſh

diſtinguiſh between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian Sir Phelim O'Neal, with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raiſed afterwards by the catholick lords and gentlemen of the Engliſh pale, in defence of the king, after the Engliſh rebellion began. It is well known, that his majeſty's affairs were in great diſtraction ſome time before, by an invaſion of the covenanting, Scottiſh kirk rebels, and by the baſe terms the king was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet, at a juncture when he was every hour threatened at home by that fanatick party, which ſoon after ſet all in a flame. And if the catholick army in Ireland, fought for their king, againſt the forces ſent over by the parliament then in actual rebellion againſt him, what perſon of loyal principles can be ſo partial as to deny that they did their duty, by joining with the marquis of Ormond and other commanders, who bore their commiſſions from the king? for which, great numbers of them loſt their lives, and forfeited their eſtates; a great part of the latter being now poſſeſſed by many deſcendants from thoſe very men, who had drawn their ſwords in the ſervice of that rebellious parliament, which cut off his head, and deſtroyed monarchy. And what is more amazing, although the ſame perſons, when the Iriſh were intirely ſubdued, continued in power under the rump, were chief confidents and faithful ſubjects to Cromwell, yet, being wiſe enough to foreſee a reſtoration, they ſeized the forts and caſtles here out of the hands of their old brethren in rebellion, for the ſervice of the king; juſt ſaving

the tide, and putting in a ſtock of merit ſufficient not only to preſerve the land which the catholicks loſt by their loyalty, but likewiſe to preſerve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

Thoſe inſurrections wherewith the catholicks are charged, from the beginning of the ſeventeenth century to the great Engliſh rebellion, were occaſioned by many oppreſſions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preſerving the old; the very ſame which their anceſtors profeſſed from the time that chriſtianity was firſt introduced into this iſland, which was by catholicks; but whether mingled with corruptions, as ſome pretend, does not belong to the queſtion. They had no deſign to change the government; they never attempted to fight againſt, to impriſon, to betray, to ſell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The ſchiſmaticks acted by a ſpirit directly contrary; they united in a ſolemn league and covenant to alter the whole ſyſtem of ſpiritual government, eſtabliſhed in all chriſtian nations, and of apoſtolick inſtitution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king, in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the ſame time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

The catholicks of Ireland, in the great rebellion, loſt their eſtates for fighting in defence of their king. The ſchiſmaticks, who cut off the father's head, forced the ſon to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, re-

ligious and civil; obtained grants of thoſe very eſtates which the catholicks loſt in defence of the ancient conſtitution, many of which eſtates are at this day poſſeſſed by the poſterity of thoſe ſchiſmaticks: and thus they gained by their rebellion, what the catholicks loſt by their loyalty.

We allow the catholicks to be brethren of the diſſenters; ſome people indeed (which we cannot allow) would have them to be our children, becauſe we both diſſent from the church eſtabliſhed, and both agree in aboliſhing this perſecuting ſacramental teſt; by which negative diſcouragement, we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of theſe ſchiſmaticks, in calling the members of the national church, their brethren and fellow proteſtants. It is true that all theſe ſects (except the catholicks) are brethren to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverſeneſs, pride, and (if we except the quakers) in rebellion. But, how the churchmen can be ſtyled their fellow-proteſtants, we cannot comprehend: becauſe, when the whole Babel of ſectaries joined againſt the church, the king, and the nobility, for twenty years, in a Match at Foot-ball, where the proverb expreſsly tells us, that all are Fellows; while the three kingdoms were toſſed to and fro, the churches and cities and royal palaces ſhattered to pieces by their balls, their buffets, and their kicks; the victors would allow no more Fellows at Foot-ball; but murdered, ſequeſtered, plundered, deprived, baniſhed

niſhed to the Plantations, or enſlaved all their oppoſers, who had loſt the game.

It is ſaid the world is governed by opinion; and politicians aſſure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to diſtraction of their own opinions, and ſo much the more, as thoſe opinions are abſurd, ridiculous, or of little moment, it muſt follow, that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with ſo much obſtinacy as thoſe in religion, eſpecially by ſuch zealots who never bore the leaſt regard to religion, conſcience, honour, juſtice, truth, mercy, or common morality, farther than in outward appearance, under the maſk of hypocriſy, to promote their diabolical deſigns. And therefore biſhop Burnet, one of their oracles, tells us honeſtly, that the ſaints of thoſe fanatick times, pronounced themſelves above morality; which they reckoned among beggarly elements; but the meaning of theſe two laſt words, thus applied, we confeſs to be above our underſtanding.

Among thoſe kingdoms and ſtates which firſt embraced the Reformation, England appears to have received it in the moſt regular way; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the ſupreme power of a king * and the three eſtates in parliament; to which, as the higheſt legiſlative authority, all ſubjects are bound paſſively to ſubmit. Neither was there much blood ſhed on ſo great a change of religion. But a conſiderable number of

* Henry VIII.

lords,

lords, and other perſons of quality through the kingdom, ſtill continued in their old faith, and were, notwithſtanding their difference in religion, employed in offices civil as well as military, more or leſs in every reign, until the teſt act in the time of king Charles II. However, from the time of the Reformation, the number of catholicks gradually and conſiderably leſſened. So that in the reign of king Charles I., England became in a great degree a proteſtant kingdom, without taking the ſectaries into the number; the legality whereof, with reſpect to human laws, the catholicks never diſputed; but the puritans, and other ſchiſmaticks, without the leaſt pretence to any ſuch authority, by an open rebellion, deſtroyed that legal Reformation, as we obſerved before, murdered their king, and changed the monarchy into a republick. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the catholicks, in ſuch a Babel of religions, choſe to adhere to their own faith left them by their anceſtors, rather than ſeek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves, or deluded enthuſiaſts.

We repeat once more, that if a national religion be changed by the ſupreme legiſlative power, we cannot diſpute the human legality of ſuch a change. But we humbly conceive, that if any conſiderable party of men, which differs from an eſtabliſhment either old or new, can deſerve liberty of conſcience, it ought to conſiſt of thoſe, who, for want of conviction, or of right underſtanding the merits of each cauſe, conceive themſelves bound in conſcience to adhere to the religion of their anceſtors; becauſe

they are, of all others, leaſt likely to be authors of innovations either in church or ſtate.

On the other ſide; if the reformation of religion be founded upon rebellion againſt the king, without whoſe conſent by the nature of our conſtitution no law can paſs; if this reformation be introduced by only one of the three eſtates, I mean the commons, and not by one half even of thoſe commons, and this by the aſſiſtance of a rebellious army; again, if this reformation were carried on by the excluſion of nobles both lay and ſpiritual, (who conſtitute the other part of the three eſtates) by the murder of their king, and by aboliſhing the whole ſyſtem of government; the catholicks cannot ſee why the ſucceſſors of thoſe ſchiſmaticks, who are univerſally accuſed by all parties, except themſelves and a few infamous abettors, for ſtill retaining the ſame principles in religion and government, under which their predeceſſors acted, ſhould pretend to a better ſhare of civil or military truſt, profit, and power than the catholicks; who, during all that period of twenty years, were continually perſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, merely on account of their loyalty and conſtant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to thoſe arguments for repealing the ſacramental teſt, which equally affect the catholicks, and their brethren the diſſenters.

Firſt, we agree with our fellow-diſſenters, that perſecution merely for conſcience ſake is againſt the genius of the goſpel. And ſo likewiſe is any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights which they claim as men. We are alſo ready enough

enough to allow, that the ſmalleſt negative diſcouragements for uniformity's ſake are ſo many perſecutions. Becauſe it cannot be denied, that the ſcratch of a pin is in ſome degree a real wound, as much as a ſtab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or juſtice of the peace, merely on a point of conſcience, is a negative diſcouragement, and conſequently a real perſecution: for in this caſe, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the margin * puts a very pertinent and powerful queſtion: If God be the ſole Lord of the conſcience, why ſhould the rights of conſcience be ſubject to human juriſdiction? Now to apply this to the catholicks; the belief of tranſubſtantiation is a matter purely of religion and conſcience, which does not affect the political intereſt of ſociety, as ſuch: therefore, why ſhould the rights of conſcience whereof God is the ſole Lord, be ſubject to human juriſdiction? And why ſhould God be deprived of this right over a catholick's conſcience, any more than over that of any other diſſenter?

And whereas another author among our brethren the diſſenters, has very juſtly complained, that by this perſecuting teſt act, great numbers of true proteſtants have been forced to leave the kingdom, and fly to the Plantations, rather than ſtay here branded with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the catholicks can bring many more inſtances of the ſame kind; ſome thou-

* Reaſons for the repeal of the Sacramental Teſt.

ſands of their religion having been forced by the ſacramental teſt, to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing ſwords, ſitting in parliament, and getting that ſhare of power and profit which belong to them as fellow-chriſtians, whereof they are deprived merely upon account of conſcience, which would not allow them to take the ſacrament after the manner preſcribed in the liturgy. Hence it clearly follows, in the words of the ſame * author, That if we catholicks are incapable of employments, we are puniſhed for our diſſent, that is, for our conſcience, which wholly turns upon political conſiderations.

The catholicks are willing to acknowledge the king's ſupremacy, whenever their brethren the diſſenters ſhall pleaſe to ſhew them an example.

Farther, the catholicks, whenever their religion ſhall come to be the national eſtabliſhed faith, are willing to undergo the ſame teſt offered by the author already quoted. His words are theſe: "To "end this debate, by putting it upon a foot, which "I hope will appear to every impartial perſon, a "fair and equitable one: we catholicks propoſe, "with ſubmiſſion to the proper judges, that effec-"tual ſecurity be taken againſt perſecution, by "obliging all who are admitted into places of "power and truſt, whatever their religious profeſ-"ſion be, in the moſt ſolemn manner to diſclaim "perſecuting principles." It is hoped the publick will take notice of theſe words, whatever their re-

* See Reaſons againſt the Teſt.

ligious

ligious profeſſion be; which plainly include the catholicks; and for which we return thanks to our diſſenting brethren.

And whereas it is objected by thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, that if the ſchiſmaticks and fanaticks were once put into a capacity of poſſeſſing civil and military employments, they would never be at eaſe, till they had raiſed their own way of worſhip into the national religion, through all his majeſty's dominions, equal with the true orthodox Scottiſh kirk; which when they had once brought to paſs, they would no more allow liberty of conſcience to epiſcopal diſſenters, than they did in the time of the great Engliſh rebellion, and in the ſucceeding fanatic anarchy, till the king was reſtored. There is another very learned ſchiſmatical * pamphleteer, who, in anſwer to a malignant libel, called *The preſbyterian plea of merit*, &c. clearly wipes off this aſperſion, by aſſuring all epiſcopal proteſtants of the preſent church, upon his own word, and to his knowledge, that our brethren the diſſenters will never offer at ſuch an attempt. In like manner, the catholicks, when legally required, will openly declare, upon their words and honours, that as ſoon as their negative diſcouragements, and their perſecution ſhall be removed, by repealing the ſacramental teſt, they will leave it entirely to the merits of the cauſe, whether the kingdom ſhall think fit to make their faith the eſtabliſhed religion or not,

* Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenters.

And

And again, whereas our preſbyterian brethren, in many of their pamphlets, take much offence, that the great rebellion in England, the murder of the king, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected againſt them both in and out of ſeaſon, by our common enemy the preſent conformiſts; we do declare, in the defence of our ſaid brethren, that the reproach aforeſaid is an old worn-out thread-bare cant, which they always diſdained to anſwer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain conformiſt, how much I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelling perpetually on ſo beaten a ſubject, he was pleaſed to divert the diſcourſe with a fooliſh ſtory, which I cannot forbear telling to his diſgrace. He ſaid, there was a clergyman in Yorkſhire, who, for fifteen years together, preached every Sunday againſt drunkenneſs: whereat the pariſhioners being much offended, complained to the archbiſhop; who having ſent for the clergyman, and ſeverely reprimanded him, the miniſter had no better an anſwer, than by confeſſing the fact; adding, that all the pariſh were drunkards; that he deſired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another; and ſince they ſtill continued to be as great drunkards as before, he reſolved to go on, except his grace would pleaſe to forbid him.

We are very ſenſible how heavy an accuſation lies upon the catholicks of Ireland; that ſome years before king Charles II. was reſtored, when theirs and the king's forces were entirely reduced, and

the

the kingdom declared by the rump to be ſettled; after all his majeſty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the ſaid catholicks, who remained here in an enſlaved condition, joined to ſend an invitation to the duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole iſland to his power, and declare him their ſovereign; which, after the Reſtoration, was proved againſt them by dean Boyle, ſince primate, who produced the very original inſtrument at the board. The catholicks freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the ſame time appeal to all the world, whether a wiſer, a better, a more honourable, or a more juſtifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to ſlavery and beggary by the Engliſh rebels, many thouſands of them murdered, the reſt deprived of their eſtates, and driven to live on a ſmall pittance in the wilds of Connaught; at a time when either the rump, or Cromwell, abſolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the queſtion will turn upon this, whether the catholicks, deprived of all their poſſeſſions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter deſpair of ever ſeeing the monarchy reſtored, for the preſervation of which they had ſuffered ſo much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a conſiderable army to ſupport them, rather than ſubmit to ſo infamous a uſurper as Cromwell, or ſuch a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the rump. And I have often heard not only our friends the diſſenters, but even our common enemies the conformiſts,

formiſts, who are converſant in the hiſtory of thoſe times, freely confeſs, that conſidering the miſerable ſituation the Iriſh were then in, they could not have thought of a braver, or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been inſtruments of reſtoring the lawful monarch, at leaſt to the recovery of England and Scotland, from thoſe betrayers, and ſellers, and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the laſt-quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a Brand that lies upon them, it is a great miſtake: for the firſt original Brand has been long taken off; only we confeſs the ſcar will probably remain, and be viſible for ever to thoſe who know the principles by which they acted, and until thoſe principles ſhall be openly renounced; elſe it muſt continue to all generations, like the mark ſet upon Cain, which ſome authors ſay deſcended to all his poſterity; or like the Roman noſe and Auſtrian lip, or like the long bag of fleſh hanging down from the gills of the people in Piedmont. But as for any Brands fixed on ſchiſmaticks for ſeveral years paſt, they have been all made with cold iron; like thieves, who by the Benefit of the Clergy are condemned to be only burned in the hand; but eſcape the pain and the mark by being in fee with the Jailor. Which advantage the ſchiſmatical teachers will never want, who, as we are aſſured, and of which there is a very freſh inſtance, have the ſouls, and bodies, and purſes of their people, a hundred

times more at their mercy, than the catholick prieſts could ever pretend to.

Therefore, upon the whole, the catholicks do humbly petition (without the leaſt inſinuation of threatening) that upon this favourable juncture, their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very ſame reaſons (beſide others more cogent) that are now offered by their brethren the diſſenters.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, ſhall ever pray, &c.

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

In this controverſy the author was again victorious, for the teſt was not repealed.

A SHORT
CHARACTER
OF HIS EXCELLENCY
THOMAS, EARL OF WHARTON,
LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

With ſome account of ſome ſmaller Facts during his Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment.

LONDON, Aug. 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, ſince the Engliſh eſtabliſhment, are uſually digeſted under the heads of the ſeveral governors: but the affairs and events of that iſland, for ſome years paſt, have been either ſo inſignificant, or ſo annexed to thoſe of England, that they have not furniſhed matter of any great importance to hiſtory. The ſhare of honour, which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turns all to the article of this kingdom; the reſt, which relates to politicks, or the art of government, is inconſiderable to the laſt degree, however it may be repreſented at court by thoſe who preſide there, and would value themſelves upon every ſtep they make towards finiſhing the ſlavery of that people,

ple, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally ſpeaking, the times which afford moſt plentiful matter for ſtory, are thoſe in which a man would leaſt chooſe to live; ſuch as, under the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one: and laſtly, the arbitrary unlawful acts of oppreſſing governors. In the war, Ireland has no ſhare but in ſubordination to us; the ſame may be ſaid of their factions, which, at preſent, are but imperfect tranſcripts of ours: but, the third ſubject for hiſtory, which is arbitrary power, and oppreſſion; as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for ſome time, been diſtinguiſhed from all her majeſty's ſubjects, ſo, being now at its greateſt height under his excellency Thomas earl of Wharton, a ſhort account of his government may be of ſome uſe or entertainment to the preſent age, although, I hope, it will be incredible to the next: and becauſe this account may be judged rather a hiſtory of his excellency, than of his government, I muſt here declare that I have not the leaſt view to his perſon in any part of it. I have had the honour of much converſation with his lordſhip, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applauſe, and how inſenſible of reproach: which is not a humour put on to ſerve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature.

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He is without the ſenſe of ſhame, or glory, as ſome men are without the ſenſe of ſmelling; and therefore, a good name to him, is no more than a precious ointment would be, to theſe. Whoever, for the ſake of others, were to deſcribe the nature of a ſerpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, muſt be underſtood to do it without any perſonal love or hatred for the animals themſelves.

In the ſame manner, his excellency is one whom I neither perſonally love nor hate. I ſee him at court, at his own houſe, and ſometimes at mine, for I have the honour of his viſits; and when theſe papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occaſion, that he is damnably mauled; and then, with the eaſieſt tranſition in the world, aſk about the weather, or time of the day: ſo that I enter on the work with more cheerfulneſs, becauſe I am ſure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happineſs and ſecurity to which his excellency has arrived, and which no philoſopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance, by firſt giving a character of his excellency, and then relating ſome facts during his government, which will ſerve to confirm it.

I know very well that mens characters are beſt known from their actions; but theſe being confined to his adminiſtration in Ireland, his character may, perhaps, take in ſomething more, which the narrowneſs of the time, or the ſcene, has not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas,

Thomas, earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful conſtitution, has paſſed, ſome years, his grand climacteric, without any viſible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind; and in ſpite of a continual proſtitution to thoſe vices, which uſually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whether he walks, or whiſtles, or ſwears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himſelf in each, beyond a templar of three years ſtanding. With the ſame grace, and in the ſame ſtyle, he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the ſtreet, where he is governor of the kingdom; and all this is without conſequence, becauſe it is in his character, and what every body expects. He ſeems to be but an ill diſſembler, and an ill liar, although they are the two talents he moſt practiſes, and moſt values himſelf upon. The ends he has gained by lying, appeared to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them: his lies being ſometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, although he knows half of thoſe that hear him to be his enemies, and is ſure they will diſcover them the moment they leave him. He ſwears ſolemnly he loves, and will ſerve you; and your back is no ſooner turned, but he tells thoſe about him, you are a dog and a raſcal. He goes conſtantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blaſphemy at the chapel door. He is a preſbyterian in politics, and an atheiſt in religion; but he chooſes at preſent to

whore with a papiſt. In his commerce with mankind his general rule is, to endeavour to impoſe on their underſtanding, for which he has but one receipt, a compoſition of lies and oaths: and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty ſhillings, and a privy counſellor; by which the eaſy and the honeſt are often either deceived or amuſed, and either way he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, becauſe you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or ſend for you, as if nothing at all had paſſed, lay his hands with much friendſhip on your ſhoulders, and with the greateſt eaſe and familiarity, tell you, that the faction are driving at ſomething in the houſe; that you muſt be ſure to attend, and to ſpeak to all your friends to be there, although he knows at the ſame time, that you and your friends are againſt him in the very point he mentions: and however abſurd, ridiculous, and groſs this may appear, he has often found it ſucceſsful; ſome men having ſuch an aukward baſhfulneſs, they know not how to refuſe on a ſudden; and every man having ſomething to hope or fear, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with perſons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He has ſunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom *, and has raiſed it by going far in the ruin of another †. With a good natural underſtanding, a great fluency in ſpeaking, and no ill taſte of wit, he is generally

* England. † Ireland.

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the worſt companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, ſo that bawdy, prophaneneſs, and buſineſs, fill up his whole converſation. To gratify himſelf in the two firſt, he makes uſe of ſuitable favourites, whoſe talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdneſs that paſſes in town. As for buſineſs, he is ſaid to be very dexterous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue; and he ſeems to have transferred thoſe talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For, as ſome vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of conſequence, will chooſe to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day; ſo his excellency, either to keep himſelf in practice, or advance the fame of his politicks, affects the moſt obſcure, troubleſome, and winding paths, even in the moſt common affairs, thoſe which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow of courſe whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a Stoick, and thinks them well recompenced, by a return of children to ſupport his family, without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant paſſions, which you will ſeldom find united in the ſame man, as ariſing from different diſpoſitions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other: theſe are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleaſure; they ride him ſome-

times by turns, ſometimes all together. Since he went into Ireland, he ſeems moſt diſpoſed to the ſecond, and has met with great ſucceſs; having gained by his government, of under two years, five and forty thouſand pounds by the moſt favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuſe, or keep a promiſe. But here I deſire to diſtinguiſh between a promiſe and a bargain; for he will be ſure to keep the latter, when he has the faireſt offer.

Thus much for his excellency's character; I ſhall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were tranſmitted to me by an eminent perſon in buſineſs there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whoſe employments did not lie at his excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of ſeveral facts independent of each other, I ſhall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correſpondent omitting that circumſtance, and tranſmitting them to me juſt as he recollected them; ſo that the gentlemen of that kingdom now in town, will, I hope, pardon me any ſlips I ſhall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, Eſq. chirurgeon-general of Ireland, a perſon univerſally eſteemed, and whom I have formerly ſeen here, had built a country-houſe, half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, juſt under his houſe, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel which belonged

longed to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas, earl of Pembroke, then lord lieutenant, and to the commiſſioners of the revenue, for a leaſe of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the lord treaſurer here, and ſent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain ſo hard, that the lord treaſurer ſtruck off ſome part of the rent: he had a leaſe granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent: the land might be worth about thirty ſhillings an acre. His excellency, ſoon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this leaſe, and, by his abſolute authority, commanded Mr. Proby to ſurrender up the land: which he was forced to do, after all the expence he had been at, or elſe muſt have expected to loſe his employment; at the ſame time he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are ſeveral circumſtances in this ſtory which I have forgot, having not been ſent to me with the reſt; but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who ſome time ago was here.

Upon his excellency's being declared lord lieutenant, there came over, to make his court, one Dr. Lloyd, fellow of Trinity college, Dublin, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the ſacramental teſt, as he did openly in their convocation of which he was a member. The merit of this, and ſome other principles ſuitable to it, recommended by Tom Broderick, ſo far ingratiated him with his excellency,

that being provided of a proper chaplain already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: the doctor attended his excellency to Ireland; and obſerving a caſt wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought, by addreſſing there, to have a ſhort open paſſage to preferment. He met with great ſucceſs in his amour; and walking one day with his miſtreſs after my lord and lady in the Caſtle-garden, my lady ſaid to his excellency, "What do you think? we are go-"ing to loſe poor Foydy," a name of fondneſs they uſually gave her. "How do you mean?" ſaid my lord. "Why the doctor behind us is re-"ſolved to take her from us." "Is he, by G—? "Why then (G—d d—mn me) he ſhall have the "firſt biſhoprick that falls *."

The doctor, thus encouraged, grew a moſt violent lover, returned with his excellency for England, and ſoon after the biſhoprick of Cork falling void, to ſhew he meant fair, he married his damſel publicly here in London, and his excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the biſhoprick; but the matter was reckoned ſo infamous, that both the archbiſhops here, eſpecially his grace of York, interpoſed with the queen, to hinder ſo great a ſcandal to the church; and Dr. Brown, provoſt of Dublin college, being then in town, her majeſty was pleaſed to nominate him; ſo that Dr. Lloyd was forced to ſit down with a moderate

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his excellency, that, talking upon this ſubject, he once ſaid, with great pleaſure, that he hoped to make his w—e a b—p.

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deanry in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a ſweet lady, who brought this her firſt huſband no other portion than a couple of olive branches for his table, though ſhe herſelf hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The queen reſerves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herſelf, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provoſtſhip of Dublin college is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr. Brown. Dr. Benjamin Pratt, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the houſe of commons of that kingdom, as well as domeſtic chaplain to the duke of Ormond, was at that time here, in attendance upon the duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: he is a perſon of wit and learning, has travelled and converſed in the beſt company, and was very much eſteemed among us here when I had the pleaſure of his acquaintance: but he had the original ſin of being a reputed tory, and a dependant on the duke of Ormond; however, he had many friends among the biſhops, and other nobility, to recommend him to the queen: at the ſame time there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. Hall, who had the advantage of Pratt in point of ſeniority; this gentleman had very little introduced himſelf into the world, but lived retired, though otherwiſe ſaid to be an excellent perſon, and very deſerving for his learning and ſenſe: he had been recommended from Ireland by ſeveral perſons; and his excellency, who

had never before ſeen nor thought of him, after having tried to injure the college by recommending perſons from this ſide, at laſt ſet up Hall, with all imaginable zeal againſt Pratt. I tell this ſtory the more fully, becauſe it is affirmed by his excellency's friends, that he never made more uſe of his court ſkill than at this time, to ſtop Dr. Pratt's promotion; not only from the perſonal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with ſome little opinion of his credit at court; which had mightily ſuffered by many diſappointments, eſpecially that of his chaplain Dr. Lloyd. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he uſed to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his excellency ſo at his levees; who ſometimes could not conceal his ſurprize, and then would promiſe, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himſelf one way or other; theſe were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after ſome expoſtulation between the doctor and his excellency, and a few additional oaths that he would never oppoſe him more, his excellency went immediately to the biſhop of Ely, and prevailed on him to go to the queen from him, and let her majeſty know, that he never could conſent, as long as he lived, that Dr. Pratt ſhould be provoſt; which the biſhop barely complied with, and delivered his meſſage, though at the ſame time he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his excellency, and gave him thanks for ſo open a proceeding;

ing; the affair was now paſt diſſembling, and his excellency owned he did not oppoſe him directly, but confeſſed he did it collaterally. The doctor a little warmed, ſaid, "No, my lord, you mean di-"rectly you did not, but indirectly you did." The concluſion was, that the queen named the doctor to the place; and as a farther mortification, juſt upon the day of his excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here I muſt deſire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digeſt the following facts in ſo good a manner as I intended; becauſe it is thought expedient, for ſome reaſons, that the world ſhould be informed of his excellency's merits as ſoon as poſſible. I will therefore only tranſcribe the ſeveral paſſages as they were ſent me from Dublin, without either correcting the ſtyle, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may ſerve for hints to any perſon, who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his excellency's life.

THE earl of Rochfort's regiment of dragoons was embarked for his majeſty's ſervice abroad, on the 26th of Auguſt, 1709, and left their horſes behind them, which were ſubſiſted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horſes of lieutenant-general Harvey's regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raiſed, and ſtill commanded, by the duke of Ormond; on which occaſion

occaſion the duke had her majeſty's orders only for as much money as would ſupply the charge of the horſes till the regiment was raiſed, which was ſoon after, and then it was put on the eſtabliſhment, as other regiments. But that which was to ſupply the earl of Rochfort's, had not a commiſſion granted till the 29th of April, 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of Auguſt to that time (being above 5700 *l.*) was taken, under pretence of keeping the horſes, buying new ones in the room of ſuch as ſhould be wanting or unſerviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horſes. As for the laſt uſe, thoſe are always produced out of the funds for providing cloathing, and the duke of Ormond did ſo: as for horſes wanting, they are very few, and the captains have orders to provide them another way; the keeping the horſes did not amount to 700 *l.* by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament: ſo there was at leaſt 5000 *l.* charged to the nation, more than the real charge could amount to.

Mrs. Lloyd, at firſt coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of ſelling it for about 200 *l.* but at laſt was told ſhe muſt expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other ſervants, would deſerve a conſideration for their attendance. Accordingly his excellency had it brought to him every night, and to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play; ſo that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to near 1000 *l.* of which a ſmall ſhare was given to the grooms of

the chamber, and the reſt made a perquiſite to his excellency. For, Mrs. Lloyd having a huſband, and a biſhoprick promiſed her, the other pretenſions were cut off.

He met lieutenant-general Langſton in the court of requeſts, and preſented a gentleman to him, ſaying, "This is a particular friend of mine; he tells "me he is a lieutenant in your regiment; I muſt "deſire you will take the firſt opportunity to give "him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily." The lieutenant-general anſwered, "He had ſerved "very well, and had very good pretenſions to a "troop, and that he would give him the firſt that "fell." With this the gentleman was mighty well ſatisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his excellency ſaid immediately, "I was "forced to ſpeak for him, as a great many of "his friends have votes at elections; but, d—n "him, he is a rogue, therefore take no care for "him."

He brought one M—y to the duke of Ormond, and recommended him as a very honeſt gentleman, and deſired his grace would provide for him; which his grace promiſed him. So M—y withdrew. As ſoon as he was gone, his lordſhip immediately ſaid to the duke: "That fellow is the "greateſt rogue in Chriſtendom."

Colonel Coward having received pay, for ſome time, in two or three regiments, as captain, but never done any other ſervice to the crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz under the duke of Ormond, finding he had not

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pretenſions enough to riſe, after he had ſold the laſt employment he had, applied to his excellency, who repreſented him in ſuch a light, that he got above 900*l.* as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a penſion of 10*s.* *per* day; but he reckoning this as much too little for his wants, as every body elſe did too much for his pretenſions, gave in a ſecond petition to the queen for a further addition of 10*s.* a day; which being referred to his excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof, it is hoped, his merit will be ſtill farther rewarded. He turned out the poor gate-keeper of Chapel-izod gate, though he and his wife were each above ſixty years old, without aſſigning any cauſe, and they are now ſtarving.

As for the buſineſs of the arſenal, it was the product of chance, and never ſo much as thought of by the perſons who of late have given ſo many good reaſons for the building of it; till, upon enquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out ſo well, that there was a neceſſity of deſtroying ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds, otherwiſe his excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom. Upon this occaſion, many projects were propoſed, all which at laſt gave way to the propoſal of a worthy perſon, who had often perſuaded the nation to do itſelf a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itſelf a little good; which was, that forty thouſand arms ſhould be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arſenals to be built for that purpoſe: this was accordingly put into the

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heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his uſual ſincerity, declared he would not conſent to the giving of money for any other uſe; as every body thought by the words he ſpoke, though afterwards he ſhewed them, that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his conſent to the bill, but uſed all the art and induſtry he was maſter of, to have it paſs; though the money was applied in it, to the building one arſenal only, and ammunition and other ſtores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arſenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it, as far as he could, and contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance-board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any farther charge to the public, and appointed his ſecond ſecretary, Mr. Denton, to be paymaſter, whoſe ſalary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: then, thinking this was too ſmall a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an eſtabliſhment for that work, conſiſting of one ſuperintendant at three pounds *per* week, eight overſeers at ſeven pounds four ſhillings a week, and ſixteen aſſiſtants at ſeven pounds four ſhillings a week, making in all ſeventeen pounds eight ſhillings a week: and theſe were, for the greateſt part, perſons who had no knowledge of ſuch buſineſs; and their honeſty was equal to their knowledge, as it has ſince appeared by the noto-

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rious cheats and neglects that have been made out againſt them; inſomuch that the work they have overſeen, which, with their ſalary, has coſt near three thouſand pounds, might have been done for leſs than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the uſual method, and was ſo propoſed in the eſtimate. And this is all a certainty, becauſe all that has been done, was only removing earth, which has been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been ſo agreed for.

Philip Savage, Eſq; as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commiſſioners of the revenue for ſealing writs in the queen's buſineſs, and ſhewed them for it ſome precedents; but they, not being well ſatisfied with them, wrote to Mr. South, one of the commiſſioners then in London, to enquire the practice there. He ſent them word upon enquiry, that fees were paid there upon the like caſes; ſo they judged it for him, and conſtantly paid him fees. If therefore there was a fault, it muſt lie at their door, for he never offered to ſtop the buſineſs; yet his excellency knew ſo well how to chooſe an attorney and ſolicitor-general, that when the caſe was referred to them, they gave it againſt the chancellor, and ſaid he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, being about two hundred pounds *per annum*; but never found any fault in the commiſſioners, who adjudged the caſe for him, and might have refuſed him the money if they had thought fit.

Captain

Captain Robert Fitzgerald, father to the preſent earl of Kildare, had a grant from king Charles the Second, of the office of comptroller of the muſters, during the lives of captain Charles Brabazon, now earl of Meath, and George Fitzgerald, elder brother to the preſent earl of Kildare; which the ſaid Robert Fitzgerald enjoyed with a ſalary of three hundred pounds *per annum*; and after his death, his ſon George enjoyed it; till my lord Galway did, by threats, compel him to ſurrender the ſaid patent for a penſion of two hundred pounds *per annum*; which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the preſent earl of Kildare, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himſelf to be injured, by the ſurrender of the ſaid patent, which ſhould have come to him, the earl of Meath being ſtill living: therefore, in order to right himſelf, did petition her majeſty; which petition, as uſual, was referred to the earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant, who being at that time in London, referred it, according to the common method on ſuch occaſions, to the lord chancellor and lieutenant-general Ingoldſby, the then lords juſtices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to enquire whether the earl of Kildare had any legal title to the ſaid patent, which he, in a full report, ſaid he had: and they referred it to the deputy vice-treaſurer to enquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was uſeful or neceſſary for her majeſty's ſervice. He gave in his report, and ſaid he thought it both uſeful and neceſſary; and, with more

more honeſty than wit, gave the following reaſons: firſt, that the muſter-maſter general computed the pay of the whole military liſt, which is above 200,000 *l. per annum*; ſo having no check on him, might commit miſtakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: and, ſecondly, becauſe he had himſelf found out ſeveral of thoſe miſtakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords juſtices approved of theſe reaſons, and ſo ſent over their report to my lord lieutenant that they thought the office uſeful and neceſſary: but colonel P——r, the muſter-maſter general, being then in London, and having given my lord lieutenant one thouſand pounds for his conſent to enjoy that office, after he had got her majeſty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troubleſome ſpy upon him; ſo he pleaded the merit of his thouſand pounds, and deſired, in conſideration thereof, that his excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and to ſtrengthen his pretenſions, put my lady in mind of what money he had loſt to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful ſenſe of benefits received, railed as much againſt the lords juſtices report, as ever ſhe had done againſt the Tories; and my lord lieutenant, prompted by the ſame virtue, made his report that there needed no comptroller to that office, becauſe he comptrolled it himſelf; which (now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually for the future: although ſince, it has been plainly made appear, that for want of ſome controul on that office,

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her majeſty has been wronged of many hundred pounds by the roguery of a clerk, and that during the time of his excellency's government; of which there has been but a ſmall part refunded, and the reſt has not been enquired after, leſt it ſhould make it plainly appear that a comptroller in that office is abſolutely neceſſary.

His excellency being deſirous, for a private reaſon, to provide for the worthleſs ſon of a worthleſs father, who had lately ſold his company, and of courſe all pretenſions to preferment in the army, took this opportunity: a captain in the oldeſt regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with ſervice, deſired leave to ſell, which was granted him: and accordingly, for a conſideration agreed upon, he gave a reſignation of his company to a perſon approved of by the commander of the regiment, who, at the ſame time, applied to his excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in her majeſty's ſervice in Spain, and abſent by her majeſty's licence: his excellency, hearing that, ſaid they might give him a company in Spain, for he would diſpoſe of this here; and ſo, notwithſtanding all the commanders in the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly ſurrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a diſputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was ſurrendered. Talking one morning, as he was dreſſing, (at leaſt a dozen people preſent) of the debates in council, about the affairs of Trim, he ſaid the lord chief juſtice Dal-

bin had laid down as law a thing for which a man ought to have his gown ſtripped off, and be whipped at the cart's a—e; and, in leſs than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expreſſion again: yet, ſome days after, ſent Dr. Lloyd to aſſure his lordſhip he ſaid no ſuch thing. Some time after, while he was in England, he uſed his utmoſt efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: and when he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to ſay to them, particularly to lord chief juſtice Dalbin, that perhaps ſome officious perſons might ſpread ſtories that he had endeavoured to do ſome of them a prejudice in England, which he aſſured them he never had; but, on the contrary, would always, without diſtinction, ſhew his regard according to merit; which the lord chief juſtice Dalbin was pleaſed to approve of, by ſaying, that was very honourable, that was very gracious; although he knew the contrary himſelf.

In England he bid Mr. Deering aſſure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body might depend on his favour, as they behaved themſelves; with which Mr. Deering was much pleaſed, and wrote over to his friends accordingly; and, as ſoon as his back was turned, he jeeringly ſaid, "D—n me, how eaſily he is bit!" When the duke of Ormond was in the government, he gave to Mr. Anderſon Saunders the government of Wicklow caſtle, which has no ſalary, but a perquiſite of ſome land worth about 12 *l.* *per annum*, which Mr. Saunders gave to the free ſchool of the town; but

but his excellency, not liking either the perſon or the uſe, without any ceremony, or reaſon given, ſuperſeded him, by giving a commiſſion for it to J——s the horſe-courſer, who lies under ſeveral odious and ſcandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly eſcaping the gallows for coining. Some time after his excellency's landing the ſecond time, he ſent for Mr. Saunders, among others, deſiring their good offices in the enſuing ſeſſion, and that Mr. Saunders would not take amiſs his giving that place to J——s, for he aſſured him he did not know it belonged to him; which is highly probable, becauſe men of his knowledge uſually give away things, without enquiring how they are in their diſpoſal. Mr. Saunders anſwered, "He was "very glad to find what was done was not out of "any particular diſpleaſure to him; becauſe Mr. "Whitſhed had ſaid at Wicklow, by way of apology "for what his excellency had done, that it was occa-"ſioned by Mr. Saunders having it; and ſeeing "his excellency had no ill intention againſt him, "was glad he could tell his excellency it was not "legally given away, for he had a cuſtodium for "the land out of the court of exchequer; ſo his "excellency's commiſſion could do him no pre-"judice."

Lieutenant-general Echlin had pay on this eſtabliſhment as brigadier, until the middle of October, 1708, when he was removed from it by his excellency, becauſe his regiment went away at that time, and lieutenant-general Gorge was put in his room. Some time after, major general Rook,

conſidering the reaſon why Echlin was removed, concluded, that Gorge could not come on, until ſome time in February after, becauſe his regiment was alſo out of the kingdom until that time; and therefore, he being the eldeſt general officer that had no pay as ſuch, was entitled to the brigadier's pay, from the time Echlin was removed, until Gorge was qualified to receive it, he having done the duty. His excellency, upon hearing the reaſon, owned it to be a very good one, and told him, if the money were not paid to Gorge, he ſhould have it, ſo bid him go ſee; which he did, and found it was: then his excellency told him he would refer his caſe to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he ſaid muſt needs be in his favour; and upon that ground, he would find a way to do him right; yet, when the general officers ſat, he ſent for ſeveral of them, and made them give the caſe againſt Rook.

When the proſecution againſt the diſſenting miniſters in Drogheda was depending, one Stevens, a lawyer in this town of Dublin, ſent his excellency, then in London, a petition, in the name of the ſaid diſſenting miniſter, in behalf of himſelf and others who lay under any ſuch proſecution; and in about a fortnight's time, his excellency ſent over a letter, to the then lords juſtices, to give the attorney and ſolicitor generals orders, to enter a *noli proſequi* to all ſuch ſuits; which was done accordingly, although he never ſo much as enquired into the merits of the cauſe, or referred the petition to any body, which is a juſtice done to all men, let the caſe be

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ever ſo light. He ſaid he had her majeſty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand; and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his excellency can deſcend to ſmall gains, take this inſtance: there were 850 *l.* ordered by her majeſty, to buy new liveries for the ſtate trumpets, meſſengers, *&c.* but with great induſtry he got them made cheaper by 200 *l.* which he ſaved out of that ſum; and it is reported, that his ſteward got a handſome conſideration beſide from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being ſo alſo to others, bought a lieutenant's commiſſion in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty; which ſervice pleaſed his excellency ſo well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him keep both; but before his pleaſure was known, the former was diſpoſed of.

The lord lieutenant has no power to remove, or put in a ſolicitor-general, without the queen's letter it being one of thoſe employments excepted out of his commiſſion; yet, becauſe Sir Richard Levinge diſobliged him, by voting according to his opinion he removed him, and put in Mr. Forſter * although he had no queen's letter for ſo doing; only a letter from Mr. Secretary Boyle, that her majeſty deſigned to remove him.

The privy-council in Ireland have a great ſhare of the adminiſtration, all things being carried by the conſent of the majority, and they ſign all or-

* Afterwards recorder of the city of Dublin, and lord chief juſtice of the common pleas.

ders and proclamations there, as well as the chief governor. But his excellency diſliked ſo great a ſhare of power in any but himſelf: and when matters were debated in council otherwiſe than he approved, he would ſtop them, and ſay, "Come, "my lords, I ſee how your opinions are, and "therefore I will not take your votes;" and ſo would put an end to the diſpute.

One of his chief favourites was a ſcandalous clergyman, a conſtant companion of his pleaſures, who appeared publicly with his excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and ſharer of all the lewd and blaſphemous diſcourſes of his excellency, and his cabal. His excellency preſented this worthy divine to one of the biſhops, with the following recommendation: "My lord, M—— is a very ho-"neſt fellow, and has no fault but that he is a little "too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, although he had been ſo infamous, that a biſhop in England refuſed to admit him to a living he had been preſented to, until the patron forced him to it by law.

His excellency recommended the earl of Inchiquin to be one of the lords juſtices in his abſence, and was much mortified when he found lieutenant general Ingoldſby appointed, without any regard to his recommendation; particularly becauſe the uſual ſalary of a lord juſtice, in the lord lieutenant's abſence, is 100 *l.* *per* month, and he had bargained with the earl for 40 *l.*

I will ſend you, in a pacquet or two, ſome particulars of his excellency's uſage of the convoca-

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tion, of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. Coningſby, an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a magiſtrate in Trim, his barbarous injuſtice to dean Jephſon and poor Will Crow; his deciding a caſe at hazard to get my lady twenty guineas, but in ſo ſcandalous and unfair a manner, that the arranteſt ſharper would be aſhamed of; the common cuſtom of playing on Sunday in my lady's cloſet; the *partie quarrée* between her ladyſhip and Mrs. Lloyd and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they uſed to go in a hackney-coach; and his excellency's making no ſcruple of dining in a hedge tavern whenever he was invited; with ſome other paſſages which, I hope, you will put into ſome method, and correct the ſtyle, and publiſh as ſpeedily as you can.

Note, Mr. Savage, beſide the proſecution about his fees, was turned out of the council, for giving his vote in parliament in a caſe where his excellency's own friends were of the ſame opinion, until they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his excellency. The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received; whenever they come, I ſhall publiſh them in a ſecond part.

SOME

REMARKS

UPON

A PAMPHLET, intituled, A LETTER to the SEVEN LORDS of the COMMITTEE appointed to examine GREGG.

THOSE who have given themſelves the trouble to write againſt me, either in ſingle papers or pamphlets, (and they are pretty numerous) do all agree in diſcovering a violent rage, and at the ſame time affecting an air of contempt toward their adverſary; which, in my humble opinion, are not very conſiſtent: and therefore it is plain, that their fury is real and hearty, their contempt only perſonated. I have pretty well ſtudied this matter, and would caution writers of their ſtandard, never to engage in that difficult attempt of deſpiſing; which is a work to be done in cold blood, and only by a ſuperior genius, to one at ſome diſtance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very ſincere contempt for many of thoſe who have drawn their pens againſt me; yet I rather choſe the cheap way of diſcovering it by ſilence and neglect, than be at the pains of new terms to expreſs it: I have known a lady value herſelf upon a haughty diſdainful look, which very

very few underſtood, and nobody alive regarded. Thoſe common-place terms of infamous ſcribbler, proſtitute libeller, and the like, thrown abroad without propriety or provocation, do ill perſonate the true ſpirit of contempt, becauſe they are ſuch as the meaneſt writer, whenever he pleaſes, may uſe towards the beſt. I remember indeed a pariſh fool, who, with a great deal of deformity, carried the moſt diſdainful look I ever obſerved in any countenance: and it was the moſt prominent part of his folly; but he was thoroughly in earneſt, which theſe writers are not: for there is another thing I would obſerve, that my antagoniſts are moſt of them ſo, in a literal ſenſe; breathe real vengeance, and extend their threats to my perſon, if they knew where to find it; wherein they are ſo far from deſpiſing, that I am ſenſible they do me too much honour. The author of the Letter to the Seven Lords, takes upon him the three characters of a deſpiſer, a threatener, and a railer; and ſucceeds ſo well in the two laſt, that it has made him miſcarry in the firſt. It is no unwiſe proceeding, which the writers of that ſide have taken up, to ſcatter their menaces in every paper they publiſh; it may perhaps look abſurd, ridiculous, and impudent, in people at mercy to aſſume ſuch a ſtyle; but the deſign is right, to endeavour perſuading the world that it is they who are the injured party, that they are the ſufferers, and have a right to be angry.

However, there is one point, wherein theſe gentlemen ſeem to ſtretch this wiſe expedient, a little farther

farther than it will allow. I, who for ſeveral months undertook to examine into the late management of perſons and things, was content ſometimes to give only a few hints of certain matters, which I had charity enough to wiſh might be buried for ever in oblivion, if the confidence of theſe people had not forced them from me. One inſtance whereof, among many, is the buſineſs of Gregg, the ſubject of a letter I am now conſidering. If this piece has been written by direction, as I ſhould be apt to ſuſpect; yet, I am confident, they would not have us think ſo, becauſe it is a ſort of challenge, to let the world into the whole ſecret of Gregg's affair. But I ſuppoſe they are confident, it is what I am not maſter of; wherein it is odds but they may be miſtaken; for I believe the memorials of that tranſaction are better preſerved, than they ſeem to be aware of, as perhaps may one day appear.

This writer is offended, becauſe I have ſaid ſo many ſevere things with application to particular perſons. The Medley has been often in the ſame ſtory: if they condemn it as a crime in general, I ſhall not much object; at leaſt I will allow it ſhould be done with truth and caution: but, by what argument will they undertake to prove that it is pardonable on one ſide, and not on the other? Since the late change of miniſtry, I have obſerved many of that party take up a new ſtyle, and tell us, "That "this way of perſonal reflection ought not to be "endured; they could not approve of it; it was "againſt charity and good-manners." When the Whigs were in power, they took ſpecial care to keep

keep their adverſaries ſilent; then all kind of falſehood and ſcurrility was doing good ſervice to the cauſe, and detecting evil principles. Now, that the face of things is changed, and we have liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down fire from heaven upon us; though, by a ſort of indulgence which they were ſtrangers to, we allow them equal liberty of the preſs with ourſelves; and they even now make greater uſe of it, againſt perſons in higheſt power and credit, than we do againſt thoſe who have been diſcarded, for the moſt infamous abuſe of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the Obſervator and Review, for many years together, in charging the whole body of the clergy with the moſt odious crimes and opinions; in declaring all who took oaths to the government, and called themſelves Tories, to be worſe than papiſts and nonjurors; in expoſing the univerſities, as ſeminaries of the moſt pernicious principles in church and ſtate; in defending the rebellion, and the murder of king Charles I., which they aſſerted to be altogether as juſtifiable as the late revolution? Is there a great man now in power, or in any credit with the queen, whom thoſe worthy undertakers have not treated, by name, in the moſt ignominious manner? Even ſince this great change of affairs, with what amazing licentiouſneſs has the writer of the Medley attacked every perſon of the preſent miniſtry, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and the whole ſenate? He has turned into ridicule the reſults of the council and the parliament, as well

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as the juſt and generous endeavours of the latter, to pay the debts, and reſtore the credit of the nation, almoſt ruined by the corruption and management of his own party.

And are theſe the people who complain of perſonal reflections; who ſo confidently invoke the men in power (whom they have ſo highly obliged) to puniſh or ſilence me for reflecting on their exploded heroes? Is there no difference between men choſen by the prince, reverenced by the people for their virtue, and others rejected by both for the higheſt demerits? Shall the Medley and his brothers fly out with impunity againſt thoſe who preſide at the helm? and am I to be torn in pieces, becauſe I cenſure others, who, for endeavouring to ſplit the veſſel againſt a rock, are put under the hatches?

I now proceed to the pamphlet which I intend to conſider. It is a letter written to ſeven great men, who were appointed to examine Gregg in Newgate. The writer tells their lordſhips, that the Examiner has charged them with endeavouring, by bribery and ſubornation of that criminal, to take away Mr. Harley's life. If there be any thing among the papers I have writ, which may be applied to theſe perſons, it would have become this author to have cleared them fully from the accuſation, and then he might at leiſure have fallen upon me as a liar and miſrepreſenter; but of that he has not offered a ſyllable: the weight of his charge lies here; that ſuch an author as the Examiner, ſhould preſume, by certain innuendo's, to accuſe any great perſons of ſuch a crime. My buſineſs,

ſineſs, in thoſe papers, was to repreſent facts; and I was as ſparing as poſſible of reflecting upon particular perſons: but the miſchief is, that the readers have always found names to tally with thoſe facts; and I know no remedy for this. As for inſtance, in the caſe here before us. An under-clerk in the ſecretary's office, of fifty pounds a year, is diſcovered to hold correſpondence with France, and apprehended by his maſter's order, before he could have opportunity to make his eſcape, by the private warning of a certain perſon, a profeſſed enemy to the ſecretary. The criminal is condemned to die. It is found, upon his trial, that he was a poor profligate fellow: the ſecretary, at that time, was under the mortal hatred of a violent prevailing party, who dreaded him for his great abilities, and his avowed deſign to break their deſtructive meaſures.

It was very well known, that a ſecretary of ſtate has little or no intercourſe with the lower clerks, but with the under-ſecretaries, who are the more immediate maſters of thoſe clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, gentlemen of worth: however, it would paſs well enough in the world, that Gregg was employed in Mr. ſecretary Harley's office, and was conſequently one of his clerks, which would be ground enough to build upon it what ſuggeſtions they pleaſed. Then for the criminal, he was needy and vicious: he owed his death to the ſecretary's watchful purſuit of him, and would therefore probably incline to hearken to any offers that would ſave his life, gratify his revenge, and make him eaſy in his fortune: ſo that,

if

if a work of darkneſs were to be done, it muſt be confeſſed, here were proper motives, and a proper inſtrument. But ought we to ſuſpect any perſons of ſuch a diabolical practice? can all faith and honour and juſtice be thus violated by men? queſtions proper for a pulpit, or well becoming a philoſopher: but what if it were *regnandi cauſa*, and that perhaps in a literal ſenſe? Is this an age of the world to think crimes improbable becauſe they are great? Perhaps it is; but what ſhall we ſay to ſome of thoſe circumſtances which attended this fact? who gave riſe to this report againſt Mr. Harley? will any of his enemies confeſs, in cold blood, that they did either believe, ſuſpect, or imagine, the ſecretary, and one of the under-clerks, to be joined in correſponding with France? Some of them, I ſhould think, knew better what belonged to ſuch a correſpondence, and how it ought to be managed. The nature of Gregg's crime was ſuch, as to be beſt performed without any accomplices at all: it was, to be a ſpy here for the French, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears, by his letters, that he never had it in his power to let them into any thing of importance. The copy of the queen's letter to the emperor, which he ſent to the enemy, and has made ſuch a noiſe, was only to deſire that prince Eugene might be employed to command in Spain; which, for ſix weeks before, had been mentioned in all the Gazettes of Europe. It was evident, from the matter of his letters, that no man of conſequence could have any ſhare in them. The whole affair had been examined in the cabinet two

months

months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the perſon of Gregg, who, to ſupply his vices and his wants, was tempted to engage in that correſpondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that examination ſhould be reſumed, after ſuch a diſtance of time, with any fair or honourable intention. Why were not Gregg's examinations publiſhed, which were ſigned by his own hand, and had been taken in cabinet two months before the committee of the houſe was appointed to re-examine him? why was he preſſed ſo cloſe, to cry out with horror, "Good God! would you "have me accuſe Mr. Harley, when he is wholly "innocent?" why were all the anſwers returned to the queries ſent him, immediately burned? I cannot, in my conſcience, but think that the party was bound in honour to procure Gregg a pardon, which was openly promiſed him, upon condition of making an ingenuous confeſſion, unleſs they had ſome other notions of what is ingenuous, than is commonly meant by that word. A confeſſion may be nevertheleſs ingenuous, for not anſwering the hopes or deſigns of thoſe who take it: but, though the word was publickly uſed, the definition of it was reſerved to private interpretation, and by a capricious humour of fortune, a moſt flagitious, though repenting villain, was hanged for his virtue. It could not indeed conſiſt with any kind of prudence then in faſhion, to ſpare his life; and thereby leave it in his power, at any time, to detect their practices, which he might afterwards do at any time, with ſo much honour to himſelf.

But I have the luck to be accuſed by this author in very good company: the two houſes of parliament in general, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in particular; whom he taxes with falſehood and abſurdity, as well as myſelf, though in a more reſpectful manner, and by a ſort of irony. The whole kingdom had given the ſame interpretation that I had done, to ſome certain paſſages in the addreſs from both houſes, upon the attempt of Guiſcard; friends and enemies agreed in applying the word faction. But the ſpeaker is much clearer; talks (as I have mentioned in another place) of ſome unparalleled attempts, and uſes other terms that come pretty home to the point. As to what the parliament affirms, this author makes it firſt as abſurd and impracticable as he can; and then pretends to yield, as preſſed by ſo great an authority; and explains their meaning into nonſenſe, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his party. Then for the ſpeaker, this writer ſays, he is but a ſingle man; and, becauſe his ſpeech was in words too direct to * avoid, he adviſes him to ſave his honour and virtue, by owning a ſoleciſm in ſpeech; and to write leſs correctly, rather than mean maliciouſly. What an expedient this advocate has found, to remove the load of an accuſation! He anſwers, "The crime is horrible; that great men "ought not to be thus inſolently charged." I reply, "That the parliament and ſpeaker appear,

* This word is improperly uſed here, both in point of ſenſe and grammar. It ſhould be—too direct *to be evaded.*

"in

" in many points, to be of the ſame opinion."— He rejoins, " That he is preſſed by too great an " authority; that perhaps thoſe wiſe aſſemblies, " and that honourable gentleman (who beſides is " but a ſingle man) may probably ſpeak nonſenſe; " they muſt either deliver a ſoleciſm, or be mali- " cious; and, in good-manners, he rather thinks " it may be the former."

The writer of the letter, having thus diſpatched the Examiner, falls next upon a paper called Secret Tranſactions, &c. written, as he tells us, by one Francis Hoffman, and the Ordinary of Newgate, perſons whom I have not the honour to be known to, (whatever my betters may be) nor have yet ſeen their productions: but, by what is cited from them in the letter, it ſhould ſeem, they have made ſome untoward obſervations; however, the ſame anſwer ſtill ſerves: not a word to controul what they ſay; only they are a couple of daring, inſolent wretches, to reflect upon the greateſt and beſt men in England; and there is an end. I have no ſort of regard for that ſame Hoffman, to whoſe character I am a perfect ſtranger; but methinks the Ordinary of Newgate ſhould be treated with more reſpect, conſidering what company he has kept, and what viſitors he may have had. However, I ſhall not enter into a point of controverſy, whether the lords were acquainted with the Ordinary, or the Ordinary with the lords, ſince this author leaves it undecided. Only one thing I take to be a little hard. It is now confeſſed on all hands, that Mr. Harley was moſt unjuſtly ſuſpected of joining

with an under-clerk, in correſponding with France: the ſuſpicion being in itſelf unreaſonable, and without the leaſt probable grounds, wiſe men began to conſider what violent enemies that gentleman had: they found the report moſt induſtriouſly ſpread; the Whigs in common diſcourſe, diſcovering their wiſhes, that he might be found guilty: the management of the whole affair was put into the hands of ſuch as, it is ſuppoſed, would at leaſt not be ſorry to find more than they expected. The criminal's dying ſpeech is unfortunately publiſhed, wherein he thanks God he was not tempted to ſave his life by falſely accuſing his maſter; with more to the ſame purpoſe: from all this put together, it was no very unnatural conjecture, that there might have been ſome tampering. Now, I ſay, it is a little hard, that Mr. Harley's friends muſt not be allowed to have their ſuſpicions, as well as his enemies: and this author, if he intended to deal fairly, ſhould have ſpent one paragraph in railing at thoſe who had the impudence and villainy to ſuſpect Mr. Harley, and then proceeded in due method to defend his committee of examiners: but that gentleman being, as this author ſays of the ſpeaker, but a ſingle man, I ſuppoſe his reputation and life were eſteemed but of little conſequence.

There is one ſtate of the caſe in this letter, which I cannot well omit, becauſe the author, I ſuppoſe, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious; that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully ſevere upon Mr. Harley, without expoſing the writer to

any danger. I ſay this to gratify him, to let him know I take his meaning, and diſcover his inclinations. His parallel caſe is this: "Suppoſing "Guiſcard had been intimate with ſome great of- "ficer of ſtate, and had been ſuſpected to com- "municate his moſt ſecret affairs with that mi- "niſter; then he aſks, "Whether it would have "been ſubornation, or ſeeking the life and blood "of that officer, in theſe great lords of the council, "if they had narrowly examined this affair, in- "quired with all exactneſs what he knew of this "great officer, what ſecrets he had imparted to "him, and whether he were privy to his corre- "ſponding? &c." In this parallel, Guiſcard's caſe is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Gregg's: and that of the great officer, with Mr. Harley's. So that here he lays down as a thing granted, that Gregg was intimate with Mr. Harley, and ſuſpected to communicate his moſt ſecret affairs to him. Now did ever any rational man ſuſpect, that Mr. Harley, firſt principal ſecretary of ſtate, was intimate with an under-clerk, or upon the foot of having moſt ſecret affairs communicated to him from ſuch a counſellor, from one in ſo inferior a ſtation, whom perhaps he hardly knew by ſight? why was that report raiſed, but for the uſes which were afterwards made of it? or, why ſhould we wonder that they, who were ſo wicked as to be authors of it, would be ſcrupulous in applying it to the only purpoſe for which it could be raiſed?

Having thus conſidered the main deſign of this letter, I ſhall make a few remarks upon ſome particular paſſages in it.

Firſt, Though it be of no conſequence to this diſpute, I cannot but obſerve a moſt evident falſehood, which he repeats three or four times in his letter, that I make the world believe I am ſet on work by great people. I remember myſelf to have ſeveral times affirmed the direct contrary, and ſo I do ſtill; and if I durſt tell him my name, which he is ſo deſirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a temper to think no man great enough to ſet me on work; nay, I am content to own all the ſcurrilous titles he gives me, if he be able to find one innuendo through all thoſe papers that can any way favour this calumny: the malice of which is not intended againſt me, but the preſent miniſtry; to make the world believe, that what I have publiſhed is the utmoſt effort of all they can ſay or think againſt the laſt: whereas it is nothing more than the common obſervations of a private man, deducing conſequences and effects from very natural and viſible cauſes.

He tells us, with great propriety of ſpeech, that the ſeven lords and their friends, are treated as ſubverters of the conſtitution, and ſuch as have been long endeavouring to deſtroy both church and ſtate. This puts me in mind of one, who firſt murdered a man, and afterwards endeavoured to kill him: and therefore I here ſolemnly deny them to have been ſubverters of the conſtitution; but that ſome people

people did their beſt endeavours, I confidently believe.

He tells me particularly, that I acquit Guiſcard, by a blunder, of a deſign againſt Mr. Harley's life. I declare he injures me; for I look upon Guiſcard to be full as guilty of the deſign, as even thoſe were who tampered with the buſineſs of Gregg; and both (to avoid all caviling) as guilty as ever any man was that ſuffered death by law.

He calls the ſtabbing of Mr. Harley, a ſore blow; but I ſuppoſe he means his recovery: that indeed was a ſore blow to the intereſts of his party: but I take the buſineſs of Gregg to have been a much ſorer blow to their reputation.

This writer wonders how I ſhould know their lordſhips hearts, becauſe he hardly knows his own. I do not well ſee the conſequence of this: perhaps he never examines into his own heart, perhaps it keeps no correſpondence with his tongue or his pen: I hope, at leaſt, it is a ſtranger to thoſe foul terms he has ſtrewed throughout his letter; otherwiſe I fear I know it too well: for out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth ſpeaketh. But, however, actions are pretty good diſcoverers of the heart, though words are not; and whoever has once endeavoured to take away my life, if he has ſtill the ſame, or rather much greater cauſe, whether it be a juſt one or not, and has never ſhewn the leaſt ſign of remorſe; I may venture, without being a conjurer, to know ſo much of his heart, as to believe he would repeat his attempt, if it were in his power. I muſt needs quote ſome following

lines in the ſame page, which are of an extraordinary kind, and ſeem to deſcribe the bleſſed age we ſhould live in, under the return of the late adminiſtration. " It is very well (ſays he) that " people's heads are to ſtand on their ſhoulders as " long as the laws will let them; if it depended " upon any thing beſide, it may be, your lord- " ſhips ſeven heads might be as ſoon cut off, as " that one gentleman's, were you in power." Then he concludes the paragraph with this charitable prayer, in the true moderation-ſtyle, and in Italick letter: " May the head that has done the " kingdom the greateſt miſchief, fall firſt, let it be " whoſe it will!" The plain meaning of which is this: If the late miniſtry were in power, they would act juſt as the preſent miniſtry would if there were no law, which perhaps may be true: but I know not any miniſtry upon earth that I durſt confide in, without law; and if, at their coming in again, they deſign to make their power the law, they may as eaſily cut off ſeven heads as one. As for the head that has done the greateſt miſchief to the kingdom, I cannot conſent it ſhould fall, till he and I have ſettled the meaning of the word miſchief. Neither do I much approve this renewing an old faſhion of whipping off heads by a prayer; it began from what ſome of us think an ill precedent. Then that unlimited clauſe, let it be whoſe it will, perplexes me not a little: I wiſh in compliance with an old form, he had excepted my lord mayor: otherwiſe, if it were to be determined by their vote, whoſe head it was that had done

done the greateſt miſchief; which way can we tell how far their predeceſſors principles may have influenced them? God preſerve the queen and her miniſters from ſuch undiſtinguiſhing diſpoſers of heads!

His remarks upon what the Ordinary told Hoffman, are ſingular enough. The Ordinary's words are, "That ſo many endeavours were uſed to cor-" rupt Gregg's conſcience, &c. that he felt as " much uneaſineſs leſt Gregg ſhould betray his " maſter, as if it had been his own caſe." The author of the letter ſays to this, " That, for aught " the Ordinary knew, he might confeſs what was " exactly true of his maſter; and that therefore an " indifferent perſon might as well be uneaſy, for " fear Gregg ſhould diſcover ſomething of his " maſter, that would touch his life, and * yet " might have been true." But, if theſe were really the Ordinary's thoughts at that time, they were honeſt and reaſonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a perſon of Mr. Harley's character and ſtation, ſhould make uſe of ſuch a confederate in treaſon: if he had ſuſpected his loyalty, he could not have ſuſpected his underſtanding. And knowing how much Mr. Harley was feared and hated by the men in power, and obſerving that reſort to Gregg at unſeaſonable hours, and that ſtrange promiſes were often made him by men of note; all this put together, might naturally incline the Ordinary to think, the deſign

* It ought to be—'*which* yet might have been true.'

could be nothing elſe, but that Mr. Harley ſhould be accuſed in ſpite of his innocence.

This charge of ſubornation is, it ſeems, ſo extraordinary a crime, that the author challenges all the books in the new lord's library (becauſe he hears it is the largeſt) to furniſh us with an inſtance like it. What if this charge ſhould be true? Then I, in my turn, would challenge all the books in another lord's library, which is ten times larger (though perhaps not ſo often diſturbed) to furniſh us with an inſtance like this. If it be ſo monſtrous a thing to accuſe others of ſubornation, what epithet is left to beſtow upon thoſe who were really guilty of the crime itſelf? I think it beyond controverſy, that ſubornation was practiſed in the buſineſs of Gregg. This manifeſtly appears from thoſe few facts I have mentioned: let the Whigs agree among them where to fix it. Nay, it is plain, by the great endeavours made to ſtifle his laſt ſpeech, that they would have ſuborned the poor man even after he was dead: and is this a matter now to be called in queſtion, much leſs to be denied?

He compares the examination of Guiſcard with that of Gregg; talks of ſeveral great perſons who examined the former in priſon, and promiſed him the queen's pardon, if he would make a full diſcovery. Then the author puts the caſe, "How "wicked it would be to charge theſe honourable "counſellors with ſuborning Guiſcard by promiſes "of life, &c. to accuſe the innocent, and betray "his friend!" Does it any where appear, that

thoſe

thoſe noble perſons who examined Guiſcard, put leading queſtions to him, or pointed out where they would have him fix an accuſation? did they name ſome mortal enemy of their own, and then drop words of pardon and reward, if he would accuſe him? did Guiſcard leave any paper behind him, to juſtify the innocence of ſome great perſon whom he was tempted to accuſe? Yet perhaps I could think of certain people, who were much more likely to act in concert with Guiſcard, than ever Mr. Harley was to be confederate with Gregg. I can imagine ſeveral who wiſhed the penknife in Mr. Harley's heart, though Guiſcard alone was deſperate enough to attempt it. Who were thoſe, that by their diſcourſes, as well as countenances, diſcovered their joy when the blow was ſtruck? who were thoſe, that went out, or ſtood ſilent, when the addreſs and congratulation were voted? and who were thoſe that refined ſo far, as to make Mr. Harley confederate with his own aſſaſſin?

There is one point, which this author affirms more than once or twice in a tranſient way, as if he would have us ſuppoſe it a thing granted; but is of ſuch a weight, that it wants nothing but truth to make the late change of miniſtry a very uſeleſs and dangerous proceeding: for, ſo it muſt be allowed, if, as he affirms, "Affairs are ſtill under "the like management, and muſt be ſo, becauſe "there is no better; that this ſet of men muſt take "the ſame courſes in their miniſtration, with their "predeceſſors, or ten times worſe; that the new "ſervants go on in the old methods, and give the

"ſame

" ſame counſel and advice, on the like occaſions, " with the old ones :" with more to the ſame purpoſe. A man may affirm, without being of the cabinet, that every ſyllable of this is abſolutely falſe; unleſs he means that money is ſtill raiſed by parliament, and borrowed upon new funds; that the duke of Marlborough ſtill commands the army; that we have a treaſurer, keeper, preſident, and ſecretaries, as we had before; and that becauſe the council meets much about the ſame times and places as formerly, therefore they give the ſame advice, and purſue the ſame meaſures. What does he think of finding funds to pay the old unprovided-for debt of the navy, and erecting a company for the South-ſea trade? what does he think of Mr. Hill's expedition, to preſerve our trade in the Weſt Indies? what, of the methods taken to make our allies pay their quotas to the war, which was a thing ſo ſcandalouſly either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? what, of the care to retrench the exorbitant expences of the Spaniſh war? what, of thoſe many abuſes and corruptions at home, which have been ſo narrowly inquired into, and in a good part redreſſed? Evils, ſo deeply radicated, muſt require ſome time to remedy them, and cannot be all ſet right in a few months. Beſides, there are ſome circumſtances known by the names of honour, probity, good ſenſe, great capacity for buſineſs; as likewiſe, certain principles of religion and loyalty, the want, or poſſeſſion of all which, will make a mighty difference even in the purſuit of the ſame meaſures. There is alſo one

characteriſtick, which will ever diſtinguiſh the late miniſtry from the preſent; That the former, ſacrificing all other regards, to the increaſe of their wealth and power, found thoſe were no * otherwiſe to be preſerved, but by continuance of the war; whereas the intereſt, as well as inclinations of the preſent, diſpoſe them to make uſe of the firſt opportunities, for a ſafe and honourable peace.

The writer goes on upon another parallel caſe, which is the modern way of reflecting upon a prince and miniſtry. He tells us, "That the "queen was brought to diſcard her old officers, "through the multitude of complaints, ſecret teaſ-"ings, and importunate clamours, of a rout of "people, led by their prieſts, and ſpirited under-"hand by crafty emiſſaries." Would not any one who reads this, imagine, that the whole rabble, with the clergy at their head, were whiſpering in the queen's ear, or came in diſguiſe to deſire a word with her majeſty, like the army of the two kings of Brentford? The unbiaſſed majority of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, are called, by this ſon of obſcurity, a rout of people, and the clergy their leaders. We have often accuſed that party for their evil talent of railing perpetually againſt the clergy, which they diſcovered at firſt without any viſible reaſon or provocation, as conſcious of the deſigns they had in view, and therefore wiſely began by vilifying thoſe whom they in-

* This is ungrammatical. *No*, is here an adjective, and cannot, with propriety, be connected with the adverb, *otherwiſe*—It ſhould be—'*not* otherwiſe—or—by *no other means*,' &c.

tended

tended to deſtroy. I have obſerved formerly, that the party-malice againſt the clergy has been ſo blind and furious, as to charge them with crimes wholly inconſiſtent. I find they are ſtill in the ſame diſpoſition, and that this writer has received direction from his ſuperiors, to purſue the old ſtyle upon that article. Accordingly, in the paragraph I am now upon, he repreſents that reverend body as leaders, cullies, and tools. Firſt, he ſays, "That "rout of ſecret teaſers (meaning the nobility and "gentry of the kingdom) were led by the prieſts." Then he aſſures us, "That the queen will, in a "year or two, begin to conſider, who it was that "cheated thoſe poor prieſts." And in caſe her majeſty ſhould have a mind to bring in the old miniſtry again, he comforts his party, "That the "prieſts are ſeldom wanting, to become the tools "of cunning managers." I deſire to know in what ſenſe he would have us to underſtand, that theſe poor prieſts have been cheated. Are they cheated by a fund eſtabliſhed for building fifty churches? or the queen's letter empowering them to proceed on the buſineſs proper for a convocation? what one ſingle advantage could they poſſibly loſe by this change? they are ſtill indeed abuſed every day in print, but it is by thoſe who are without the power to hurt them; the ſerpent has loſt his ſting, is trodden under foot, and its hiſſing is contemned. But he confidently affirms, "That, "when it ſhall be thought fit to reſtore the old "miniſtry, the prieſts will not be wanting, to be-"come the tools of their cunning managers."

This

This I cannot by any means allow, unleſs they have ſome hidden reſerve of cunning, which has never yet been produced. The cunningeſt managers I ever knew among them, are, of all others, moſt deteſted by the clergy: neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them tools, except by making them biſhops; even thoſe few they were able to ſeduce, would not be their tools at a lower rate.

But, becauſe this author, and others of his ſtandard, affect to make uſe of that word Tool, when they have a mind to be ſhrewd and ſatirical; I deſire once for all to ſet them right. A tool and an inſtrument, in the metaphorical ſenſe, differ thus: the former, is an engine in the hands of knaves; the latter, in thoſe of wiſe and honeſt men. The greateſt miniſters are inſtruments in the hands of princes, and ſo are princes themſelves in the hands of God; and in this ſenſe, the clergy are ready to be inſtruments of any good to the prince or people. But that the clergy of England, ſince the Reformation, have at any time been the tools of a party, is a calumny which hiſtory and conſtant experience will immediately confute. Schiſmatic and Fanatic preachers have indeed been perpetually employed that way, with good ſucceſs; by the faction againſt king Charles I. to murder their prince, and ruin the monarchy; by king James II., to bring in popery: and ever ſince the Revolution, to advance the unmeaſurable appetite of power and wealth, among a ſet of profligate upſtarts. But in all theſe three inſtances, the eſtabliſhed

bliſhed clergy (except a very few, like tares among wheat, and thoſe generally ſown by the enemy) were ſo far from being tools, that in the firſt, they were perſecuted, impriſoned, and deprived; and in the two others, they were great inſtruments, under God, for preſerving our religion and liberty.

In the ſame paragraph, which contains a project for turning out the preſent miniſtry, and reſtoring the laſt; he owns, that the queen is now ſerved with more obſequious words, more humble adorations, and a more ſeeming reſignation to her will and pleaſure, than ſhe was before. And indeed, if this be not true, her majeſty has the worſt luck of any prince in Chriſtendom. The reverſe of theſe phraſes I take to be rude expreſſions, inſolent behaviour, and a real oppoſition to her majeſty's moſt juſt and reaſonable commands, which are the mildeſt terms that the demeanor of ſome late perſons towards their prince, can deſerve, in return of the higheſt favours that ſubjects ever received, whereof a hundred particulars might be produced. So that, according to our author's way of reaſoning, I will put a parallel caſe in my turn. I have a ſervant to whom I am exceedingly kind; I reward him infinitely above his merit: beſide which, he and his family ſnap every thing they can lay their hands on; they will let none come near me, but themſelves and dependants; they miſrepreſent my beſt friends, as my greateſt enemies; beſides, they are ſo ſaucy and malapert, there is no ſpeaking to them; ſo far from any reſpect, that they treat me as an inferior. At laſt I pluck up ſpirit,

turn

turn them all out of doors, and take in new ones; who are content with what I allow them, though I have leſs to ſpare than formerly; give me their beſt advice when I aſk it, are conſtantly in the way, do what I bid them, make a bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a reſpectful anſwer. I ſuppoſe the writer of the letter would tell me, that my preſent domeſticks were indeed a little more civil, but the former were better ſervants.

There are two things wherewith this author is peculiarly angry: firſt, at the licentious way of the ſcum of mankind treating the greateſt peers in the nation: ſecondly, that theſe hedge-writers (a phraſe I unwillingly lend him, becauſe it coſt me ſome pains to invent) ſeldom ſpeak a word againſt any of the late miniſtry, but they preſently fall to compliment my lord treaſurer, and others in great places. On the firſt, he brings but one inſtance: but I could produce a good many hundred. What does he think of the Obſervator, the Review, and the Medley? in his own impartial judgment, may not they as fairly bid for being the ſcum of mankind, as the Examiner? and have they not treated at leaſt as many, and almoſt as great peers, in as infamous a manner? I grant indeed, that through the great defect of truth, genius, learning, and common ſenſe, among the libelers of that party, they, being of no entertainment to the world, after ſerving the preſent turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in groſs, that there was not a great man in England, diſtinguiſhed for his love to the monarchy or the church, who,

under

under the appellations of Tory, Jacobite, High-flier, and other cant words, was not repreſented as a public enemy, and loaden by name with all manner of obloquy. Nay, have they not even diſturbed the aſhes, and endeavoured to blaſt the memories of the dead, and chiefly of thoſe who loſt their lives in the ſervice of the monarchy and the church? His other quarrel is at our flattering my lord treaſurer, and other great perſons in power. To which I ſhall only ſay, for every line written in praiſe of the preſent miniſtry, I will engage to furniſh the author with three pages of the moſt fulſome panegyricks on the leaſt deſerving members of the laſt; which is ſomewhat more than by the proportion of time, while they were in power, could fall to their ſhare. Indeed, I am apt to think, that the men of wit at leaſt, will be more ſparing in their incenſe of this kind for the future, and ſay no more of any great man, now at the helm, than they believe he deſerves. Poems, dedications, and other public encomiums, might be of uſe to thoſe who were obliged to keep up an unnatural ſpirit in the nation, by ſupplying it with art; and conſequently the authors deſerved, and ſometimes met, encouragement and reward. But thoſe great patriots now at the head of affairs, are ſufficiently ſupported by the uncompelled favour of the queen, and the natural diſpoſition of the people. We can do them no ſervice by our applauſes, and therefore expect no payment: ſo that I look upon this kind of ſtock to have fallen at leaſt ninety per cent. ſince the great changes at court.

He

He puts a few queſtions, which I am in ſome pain to anſwer. "Cannot, ſays he, the ſucceſſors "be excellent men, unleſs the predeceſſors be vil-"lains? cannot the queen change her miniſters, "but they muſt preſently be ſuch as neither God "nor man can endure? do noblemen fall from all "honour, virtue, and religion, becauſe they are "ſo unhappy as to fall from their prince's favour?" I deſire to ſay ſomething, in the firſt place, to this laſt queſtion; which I anſwer in the negative. However, he will own, that "men ſhould fall from "their prince's favour, when they are ſo unhappy "as to fall from all honour, virtue, and religion;" though I muſt confeſs my belief at the ſame time, that ſome certain perſons have lately fallen from favour, who could not, for a very manifeſt reaſon, be ſaid, properly ſpeaking, to fall from any of the other three. To his other queſtions I can only ſay, that the conſtant language of the Whig pamphleteers has been, this twelvemonth paſt, to tell us, how dangerous a ſtep it was to change the miniſtry at ſo nice a juncture; to ſhake our credit, diſoblige our allies, and encourage the French. Then this author tells us, that thoſe diſcarded politicians were the greateſt miniſters we ever had: his brethren have ſaid the ſame thing a hundred times. On the other ſide, the queen, upon long deliberation, was reſolved to part with them: the univerſal voice of the people was againſt them: her majeſty is the moſt mild and gracious prince that ever reigned: we have been conſtantly victorious, and are ruined; the enemy flouriſhes under his

perpetual loſſes. If theſe be the conſequences of an able, faithful, diligent, and dutiful adminiſtration; of that aſtoniſhing ſucceſs, he ſays, Providence has crowned us with; what can be thoſe of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide field at preſent, I faithfully promiſe the author of the letter, his correſpondents, his patrons, and his brethren, that this myſtery of iniquity ſhall be very ſhortly laid open to the view of the world: when the moſt ignorant and prejudiced reader will, I hope, be convinced, by facts not to be controuled, how miſerably this poor kingdom has been deluded to the very brink of deſtruction.

He would have it, that the people of England have loſt their ſenſes; are bewitched and cheated, mad and without underſtanding: but that all this will go off by degrees, and then his great men will recover their eſteem and credit. I did, in one of my papers, overthrow this idle affected opinion, which has been a thouſand times urged by thoſe who moſt wiſhed, and leaſt believed it: I there ſhewed the difference between a ſhort madneſs of the people, and their natural bent or genius. I remember, when king James II. went from England, he left a paper behind him, with expreſſions much to the ſame purpoſe; hoping, among other things, that God would open the eyes of the nation. Too much zeal for his religion brought us then in danger of popery and arbitrary power; too much infidelity, avarice, and ambition, brought us lately into equal danger of atheiſm and anarchy. The people have not yet opened their eyes, to ſee any

advantage

advantage in the two former; nor, I hope, will ever find their ſenſes enough to diſcover the bleſſings of the two latter. Cannot I ſee things in another light than this author and his party do, without being blind? is my underſtanding loſt when it differs from theirs? am I cheated, bewitched, and out of my ſenſes, becauſe I think thoſe to have been betrayers of our country, whom they call patriots?

He hopes his ſeven correſpondents will never want their places; but is in pain for the poor kingdom, leſt their places ſhould want them. Now I have examined this matter, and am not at all diſcouraged. Two of them hold their places ſtill, and are likely to continue in them; two more were governors of iſlands: I believe the author does not imagine thoſe to be among the places which will want men to fill them. God be thanked, a man may command the beef-eaters without being a ſoldier; I will at any time undertake to do it myſelf. Then it would be a little hard, if the queen ſhould be at a loſs for a ſteward to her family. So that, upon the whole, I ſee but one great employment which is in any danger of wanting a ſufficient perſon to execute it. We muſt do as well as we can: yet I have been told, that the bare buſineſs of preſiding in council does not require ſuch very tranſcendent abilities; and I am miſtaken if, till within theſe late years, we have not been ſome ages without that office. So that I hope things may go well enough, provided the keeper, treaſurer, and both the ſecretaries, will do their duties; and it is

happy for the nation, that none of their ſeven lordſhips left any of thoſe places to want them.

The writer of the letter concludes it with "an "appeal to all the princes and ſtates of Europe, "friends and enemies, by name, to give their judg- "ment, whether they think the late miniſtry were "wanting in faithfulneſs, abilities, or diligence, to "ſerve their prince and country?" Now, if he ſpeaks by order of his party, I am humbly of opinion, they have incurred a *præmunire*, for appealing to a foreign juriſdiction; and her majeſty may ſeize their goods and chattels whenever ſhe pleaſes. In the mean time, I will not accept his appeal, which has been rejected by the queen and both houſes of parliament. But, let a fair jury be empanneled in any county of England, and I will be determined by their verdict. Firſt, he names the king of France and all his counſellors, with the Pretender and all his favourers and abettors. Theſe I except againſt: I know they will readily judge the late miniſtry to be faithful, able, and diligent, in ſerving their prince and country. The counſels of ſome people have, in their way, ſerved very much to promote the ſervice of the Pretender, and to enable the French king to aſſiſt him; and is not he, in that monarch's opinion as well as his own, their lawful prince? I except againſt the emperor and the States; becauſe it can be proved upon them, that the plaintiffs and they have an underſtanding together. I except againſt any prince who makes unreaſonable demands, and threatens to recal his troops if they be not complied with; becauſe they have

have been forced of late to change their language, and may perhaps be ſhortly obliged to obſerve their articles more ſtrictly. I ſhould be ſorry, for the appealers ſakes, to have their caſe referred to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged up for their inſolence to their ſovereign. But, above all, the king of Spain would certainly be againſt them, when he conſiders with how ſcandalous a neglect his intereſts have been managed; and that the full poſſeſſion of his kingdom was made a ſacrifice to thoſe, whoſe private or party intereſt ſwayed them to the continuance of the war. The author had reaſon to omit the grand ſeignior and czar in the liſt of his judges: The decrees of thoſe princes are too ſudden and ſanguinary; and their leſſons to inſtruct ſubjects in behaviour to their princes, by ſtrangling them with a bow-ſtring, or flinging them to be devoured alive by hogs, were enough to deter them from ſubmitting to their juriſdiction.

A NEW

JOURNEY TO PARIS;

TOGETHER WITH SOME

SECRET TRANSACTIONS

BETWEEN

THE FRENCH KING

AND

AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN,

BY THE SIEUR DU BAUDRIER,

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

" I had rather be thought a good Engliſhman, than the beſt
" Poet, or the greateſt Scholar, that ever wrote."

PRIOR, Preface to " SOLOMON."

"I have juſt thought of a project to bite the town. I have "told you, that it is now known that Mr. Prior has been "lately in France. I will make a printer of my own ſit by me "one day; and I will dictate to him a formal relation of Prior's "journey, with ſeveral particulars, all pure invention; and I "doubt not but it will take." Journal to Stella, Aug. 31, 1711.

"This morning the printer ſent me an account of Prior's "journey; it makes a two-penny pamphlet: I ſuppoſe you "will ſee it, for I dare ſay it will run. It is a formal grave lie, "from the beginning to the end. I wrote all but the laſt "page; that I dictated, and the printer wrote. Mr. Secretary "ſent to me, to dine where he did: it was at Prior's. When "I came in, Prior ſhewed me the pamphlet, ſeemed to be an-"gry, and ſaid, "Here is our Engliſh Liberty!" I read ſome "of it; ſaid, "I liked it mightily, and envied the rogue the "thought; for, had it come into my head, I ſhould have cer-"tainly done it myſelf."—Prior owned his having been in "France; for it was paſt denying. It ſeems, he was diſco-"vered by a raſcal at Dover, who had poſitive orders to let him "paſs." Ibid. Sept. 11.

"There came out ſome time ago an account of Mr. Prior's "journey to France, pretended to be a tranſlation; it is a pure "invention from the beginning to the end. I will let your "Grace into the ſecret of it. The clamours of a party againſt "any peace without Spain, and railing at the Miniſtry as if "they deſigned to ruin us, occaſioned that production, out of "indignity and contempt, by way of furniſhing fools with "ſomething to talk of; and it has had a very great effect." Letter to Abp. King, Oct. 1, 1711.

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THE Original of the following Diſcourſe was tranſmitted to me three days ago from the Hague, to which town it was ſent from France; but in the title-page there was no mention of the place where it was printed, only the Author's name at length, and the year of our Lord. That the Tract is genuine, I believe no perſon will doubt. You ſee all along the vanity of that nation, in a mean man giving himſelf the airs of a Secretary, when it appears, by ſeveral circumſtances, that he was received only as a menial ſervant. It were to be wiſhed, the Author had been one of more importance, and farther truſted in the ſecrets of his maſter's negotiation; but, to make amends, he informs us of ſeveral particulars, which one of more conſequence would not have given himſelf the trouble about: and the particulars are ſuch, as we at home will perhaps be curious to know; not to mention that he gives us much light into ſome things that are of great moment; and by his not pretending to know more, we cannot doubt the truth of what he relates.

It is plain, he waited at table, carried his maſter's *valiſe*, and attended in his bedchamber; though he takes care to tell us, that Monſieur Prior made many excuſes and apologies, becauſe theſe mean offices appear very inconſiſtent with the character of Secretary, which he would ſeem to ſet-up for.

I ſhall make no reflections on this important affair, nor upon the conſequences we may expect from it. To reaſon upon ſecrets of ſtate, without knowing all the ſprings and motions of them, is too common a talent among us, and the foundation of a thouſand errors. Here is room enough for ſpeculations; but I adviſe the Reader to let them ſerve for his own entertainment, without troubling the world with his remarks *.

* The firſt edition of this little tract (1000 copies) was ſold the day it came out; and a ſtill greater quantity in the next fortnight. See Journal to Stella, Sept. 12 and 24.

TO

MONSIEUR MONSIEUR,

AT ESTAPLE*.

SIR,

I Doubt not but you are curious, as many others are, to know the ſecret of Monſieur Prior an Engliſh Gentleman's late Journey from London to Paris. Perhaps, living retired as you do, you may not have heard of this perſon, though ſome years ago he was very much diſtinguiſhed at Paris, and in good eſteem even with our auguſt monarch. I muſt let you ſo far into his character, as to tell you, that Monſieur Prior has ſignalized himſelf, both as an eminent poet, and man of buſineſs; was very much valued by the late king William, who employed him in important affairs, both in England and Holland. He was ſecretary to the Engliſh embaſſy, at the treaty of Ryſwick; and afterwards, to my lords the Counts of Portland and Jerſey; and in the abſence of the latter, managed for ſome time the affairs of England at our court by himſelf. Since the reign of queen Anne, he was employed as commiſſioner of trade; but the miniſtry changing ſoon after queen's Anne's coming to the crown, Monſieur Prior, who was thought too much attached to the Rigides †, was laid aſide; and lived

* A ſea-port town in the Bolognois. † Tories.

privately

privately at Cambridge, where he is a profeſſor, till he was recalled by the preſent miniſtry.

About two months ago, our King *, reſolving once more to give peace to Europe, notwithſtanding the flouriſhing condition of his fleets and armies, the good poſture of his finances, that his grandſon was almoſt entirely ſettled in the quiet poſſeſſion of Spain, and that the affairs of the North were changing every day to his advantage; offered the court of England to ſend a miniſter as far as Bologne, who ſhould be there met by ſome perſon from England, to treat the overtures of a peace. Upon the firſt notice that this was agreed to, the king immediately diſpatched Monſieur De Torcy, in whom he very much confides, to Bologne, where he took lodging at a private houſe in the Fauxbourg, at one Mr. De Marais, a marchand de ſoy, who is married to an Engliſh woman, that formerly had been a *ſuivante* to one of the forementioned Engliſh ambaſſadors ladies, over againſt the Hoſtellerie de St. Jean. Monſieur ſtayed ſix days with much impatience; when, late at evening, on Wedneſday the 14th of July, a perſon, whom we afterwards knew to be Monſieur Prior, came directly to the door, and enquired for Monſieur De la Baſtide, the name and place, I ſuppoſe, having been before concerted. He was immediately ſhewn unto Monſieur Torcy; where, as I am informed, they were ſhut up for three hours together, without any refreſhment,

* Louis XIV. The Author, it ſhould be remembered, is writing in the character of a Frenchman.

though

though Monſieur Prior had rid poſt from Calais that day in a great deal of rain. The next morning I was ſent for, in all haſte, by Monſieur De Marais, who told me, "that a perſon of quality, "as he ſuſpected, lately come from England, had "ſome occaſion for a ſecretary; and, becauſe he "knew I underſtood the languages, wrote a tole-"rable hand, had been converſant with perſons of "quality, and formerly truſted with ſecrets of im-"portance, had been ſo kind to recommend me to "the ſaid gentleman, to ſerve him in that quality." I was immediately called up, and preſented to Mr. Prior; who accoſted me with great civility, and, after ſome converſation, was pleaſed to tell me, "I "had fully anſwered the character Monſieur De "Marais had given me." From this time, to the day Monſieur Prior left Calais in order to return to England, I may pretend to give you a faithful account of all his motions, and ſome probable conjectures of his whole negotiation between Bologne and Verſailles.

But perhaps, Sir, you may be farther curious to know the particulars of Monſieur Prior's journey to Bologne. It is reported, that ſome time before the peace of Ryſwick, king William did diſpatch this very gentleman to Paris, upon the ſame account for which he now came. This poſſibly might be the motive (beſide the known abilities of Monſieur Prior) to ſend him a ſecond time. The following particulars I heard in diſcourſe between Mademoiſelle De Marais and her huſband; which, being

being no great ſecrets on our ſide the water, I ſuppoſe were told without conſequence.

Monſieur Prior, having his inſtructions from the Engliſh court, under pretence of taking a ſhort journey of pleaſure, and viſiting the Chevalier De H———* in the province of Suffolk, left his houſe on Sunday night, the 11th of July, N. S. taking none of his ſervants with him. Monſieur M——— who had already prepared a bark, with all neceſſaries, on the coaſt of Dover, took Monſieur Prior diſguiſed in his chariot. They lay on Monday night, the 12th of July, at the Count De Jerſey's houſe in Kent; arrived in good time the next day at Dover, drove directly to the ſhore, made the ſign by waving their hats, which was anſwered by the veſſel; and the boat was immediately ſent to take him in: which he entered, wrapt in his cloak, and ſoon got aboard. He was ſix hours at ſea, and arrived at Calais about eleven at night; went immediately to the governor, who received him with great reſpect, where he lay all night; and ſet out pretty late the next morning, being ſomewhat incommoded with his voyage; and then took poſt for Bologne, as I have before related.

In the firſt converſation I had the honour to have with Monſieur Prior, he was pleaſed to talk as if he would have occaſion for my ſervice but a very few days; and ſeemed reſolved, by his diſcourſe, that, after he had diſpatched his commiſſion with Monſieur De la Baſtide (for ſo we ſhall from hence-

* Sir Thomas Hanmer.

forward

forward call that miniſter) he would return to England. By this I found I ſhould have but little employment in quality of ſecretary; however, having heard ſo great a character of him, I was willing to attend him in any capacity he pleaſed. Four days we continued at Bologne, where Monſieur De la Baſtide and Monſieur Prior had two long conferences every day from ten to one at noon, and from ſix till nine in the evening. Monſieur Prior did me the honour to ſend me ſome meat and wine conſtantly from his own table. Upon the third morning, I was ordered to attend early; and obſerved Monſieur Prior to have a pleaſant countenance. He aſked me, "What I thought of a "journey to England?" and commanded me to be ready at an hour's warning. But, upon the fourth evening, all this was changed; and I was directed to hire the beſt horſe I could find for myſelf.

We ſet out early the next day, Sunday the 18th, for Paris, in Monſieur De la Baſtide's chaiſe, whoſe two attendants and myſelf made up the equipage; but a ſmall *valiſe*, which I ſuppoſe contained Monſieur Prior's inſtructions, he was pleaſed to truſt to my care, to carry on horſeback; which truſt I diſcharged with the utmoſt faithfulneſs.

Somewhat above two leagues from Bologne, at a ſmall village called Neile, the axletree broke, which took us two hours to mend; we baited at Montrevil, and lay that night at Abbeville. But I ſhall not give you any detail of our journey, which paſſed without any conſiderable accident till we arrived within four leagues of Paris; when, about three in the afternoon, two cavaliers, well mounted,

and armed with piſtols, croſſed the road, then turned ſhort, and rode up briſkly to the chaiſe, commanding the coachman to ſtop. Monſieur De la Baſtide's two attendants were immediately up with them; but I, who gueſſed at the importance of the charge that Monſieur Prior had entruſted me with, though I was in no fear for my own perſon, thought it moſt prudent to advance with what ſpeed I could to a ſmall village, about a quarter of a league forward, to wait the event. I ſoon obſerved the chaiſe to come on without any diſturbance, and I ventured to meet it; when I found that it was only a frolick of two young cadets of quality, who had been making a debauch at a friend's houſe hard by, and were returning to Paris; one of them was not unknown to Monſieur de la Baſtide. The two cavaliers began to railly me; ſaid, "I knew "how to make a retreat;" with ſome other pleaſantries: but Monſieur Prior (who knew the cauſe) highly commended my diſcretion. We continued our journey very merrily; and arrived at Paris on Tueſday the 20th, in the cool of the evening.

At the entrance of the town, our two cavaliers left us; and Monſieur De la Baſtide conducted Monſieur Prior to a private lodging in the Ruë St. Louis, which, by all circumſtances, I concluded to be prepared for his reception. Here I firſt had orders to ſay that the gentleman to whom I had the honour to belong was called Monſieur Matthews; I then knew no otherwiſe. Afterwards, at Verſailles, I overheard, in converſation with Monſieur De la Baſtide, that his real name was Prior.

Monſieur

Monſieur De la Baſtide would have had Monſieur Matthews to have gone with him next morning to Verſailles, but could not prevail with him to comply; of which I could never be able to learn the reaſon. Our miniſter was very importunate; and Monſieur Prior ſeemed to have no fatigue remaining from his journey: perhaps he might conceive it more ſuitable to his dignity, that Monſieur De la Baſtide ſhould go before, to prepare the king, by giving notice of his arrival. However it were, Monſieur De la Baſtide made all haſte to Verſailles, and returned the ſame night. During his abſence, Monſieur Prior never ſtirred out of his chamber; and after dinner, did me the honour to ſend for me up, "that I might bear him company," as he was pleaſed to expreſs it. I was ſurprized to hear him wondering at the miſery he had obſerved in our country, in his journey from Calais; at the ſcarcity and poverty of the inhabitants, "which," he ſaid, "did much exceed even what he had ſeen in his "former journey;" for he owned that he had been in France before. He ſeemed to value himſelf very much upon the happineſs of his own iſland, which, as he pretended, had felt no effects like theſe upon trade or agriculture.

I made bold to return for anſwer, "That in our "nation, we only conſulted the magnificence and "power of our prince; but that in England, as I "was informed, the wealth of the kingdom was ſo "divided among the people, that little or nothing "was left to their ſovereign; and that it was con-"fidently told (though hardly believed in France)

" that ſome ſubjects had palaces more magnificent " than queen Anne herſelf: that I hoped, when " he went to Verſailles, he would allow the gran- " deur of our potent monarch to exceed, not only " that of England, but any other in Europe; by " which he would find, that what he called the " poverty of our nation, was rather the effect of " policy in our court, than any real want or ne- " ceſſity."

Monſieur Prior had no better anſwer to make me, than, " That he was no ſtranger to our court, " the ſplendour of our prince, and the maxims by " which he governed; but, for his part, he thought " thoſe countries were happier, where the produc- " tions of it were more equally divided." Such unaccountable notions is the prejudice of education apt to give! In theſe and the like diſcourſes, we wore away the time till Monſieur De la Baſtide's return; who, after an hour's private conference with Monſieur Prior, which I found by their countenances had been warmly purſued on both ſides, a chariot and ſix horſes (to my great ſurprize) were inſtantly ordered, wherein the two miniſters entered, and drove away with all expedition; myſelf only attending on horſeback with my important *valiſe*.

We got to Verſailles on Wedneſday the 21ſt, about eleven at night; but, inſtead of entering the town, the coachman drove us a back way into the fields, till we ſtopt at a certain vineyard, that I afterwards underſtood joined to the gardens of Madame Maintenon's lodgings. Here the two gentlemen

tlemen alighted: Monſieur Prior, calling to me, bad me ſearch in the *valiſe* for a ſmall box of writings; after which, the coachman was ordered to attend in that place; and we proceeded on ſome paces, till we ſtopt at a little poſtern, which opened into the vineyard, whereof Monſieur De la Baſtide had the key. He opened it very readily, and ſhut it after them; deſiring me to ſtay till their return.

I waited with ſome impatience for three hours: the great clock ſtruck two before they came out. The coachman, who, I ſuppoſe, had his inſtructions before, as ſoon as they were got into the chariot, drove away to a ſmall houſe at the end of the town, where Monſieur De la Baſtide left us to ourſelves. I obſerved Monſieur Prior was very thoughtful; and without entering into any converſation, deſired my aſſiſtance to put him to bed. Next morning, Thurſday the 22d, I had poſitive orders not to ſtir abroad. About ten a clock, Monſ. De la Baſtide came. The houſe being ſmall, my apartment was divided from Monſieur Prior's by a thin wainſcot; ſo that I could eaſily hear what they ſaid, when they raiſed their voice, as they often did. After ſome time, I could hear Monſieur De la Baſtide ſay, with great warmth, *Bon Dieu!* &c. "Good God! were ever ſuch demands made to a "great monarch, unleſs you were at the gates of "his metropolis? For the love of God, Monſieur "Prior relax ſomething, if your inſtructions will "permit you: elſe I ſhall deſpair of any good ſuc-"ceſs in our negotiation. Is it not enough that "our king will abandon his grandſon, but he muſt

" lend his own arm to pull him out of the throne?
" Why did you not open yourſelf to me at Bou-
" logne? why are you more inexorable here at
" Verſailles? You have riſen in your demands, by
" ſeeing Madame Maintenon's deſire for a peace!
" As able as you are to continue the war, conſider
" which is to be moſt preferred, the good of your
" country, or the particular advantage of your ge-
" neral; for he will be the only gainer among your
" ſubjects." Monſieur Prior, who has a low voice, and had not that occaſion for paſſion, anſwered ſo ſoftly, that I could not well underſtand him; but, upon parting, I heard him ſay, " If you inſiſt ſtill
" on theſe difficulties, my next audience will be
" that of leave."

Three hours after, Monſieur De la Baſtide returned again, with a countenance more compoſed. He aſked Mr. Prior, if he would give him leave to dine with him? Having no attendants, I readily offered my ſervice at table *; which Monſieur Prior was pleaſed to accept, with abundance of apologies. I found they were come to a better underſtanding. Mr. Prior has a great deal of wit and vivacity; he entertained Monſieur De la Baſtide with much pleaſantry, notwithſtanding their being upon the reſerve before me. " That Monſieur, ſays Mr. Mat-
" thews, if he were *un* † *particulier*, would be the
" moſt agreeable perſon in the world." I imagined they ſpoke of the king; but, going often in and

* By this and ſome other preceding particulars, we may diſcover what ſort of Secretary the Author was.

† A private man.

out,

out, I could not preſerve the connexion of their diſcourſe. "Did you mind how obligingly he en-"quired, whether our famous Chevalier Newton "was ſtill living? he told me, my good friend poor "Deſpreaux was dead ſince I was in France; and "aſked me after queen Anne's health." Theſe are ſome of the particulars I overheard while at dinner; which confirmed my opinion, that Monſieur Prior had an audience of his majeſty.

About ten that evening, Monſieur De la Baſtide came to take Monſieur Matthews, to go to the ſame place where they were at before. I was permitted to enter the vineyard, but not the gardens, being left at the gate to wait their return; which was in about two hours time. The moon ſhone bright; and by Monſieur Matthews's manner, I thought he appeared ſomewhat diſſatisfied. When he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in ſome paſſion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room for above an hour, extremely penſive: at length he called to be put to bed; and ordered me to ſet a candle by his bed-ſide, and to fetch him ſome papers out of his *valiſe* to read.

On Friday the 23d, in the morning, Monſieur Matthews was ſo obliging to call me to him; with the aſſurance, that he was extremely pleaſed with my diſcretion and manner of addreſs; as a proof of which ſatisfaction, he would give me leave to ſatisfy my curioſity with ſeeing ſo fine a place as Verſailles; telling me, "he ſhould return next day "towards Boulogne; and therefore adviſed me to "go immediately to view the palace; with this

" caution (though he did not ſuppoſe I needed it) " not to ſay any thing of the occaſion that brought " me to Verſailles."

Monſieur De la Baſtide having ſtaid the afternoon with Monſieur Matthews, about eight o'clock they went to the rendezvous. My curioſity had led me in the morning to take a ſtricter view of the vineyard and gardens. I remained at the gate as before. In an hour and a half's time, Monſieur Matthews, with Monſieur De la Baſtide, another gentleman, and a lady, came into the walk. De la Baſtide opened the gate, and held it ſome time in his hand. While Monſieur Matthews was taking his leave of thoſe perſons, I heard the lady ſay, at parting, *Monſieur, ſongez-vous*, &c. " Conſider " this night on what we have ſaid to you." The gentleman ſeconded her; ſaying, *Ouy, ouy, Monſieur, ſongez vous-en pour la dernier fois.* " Aye, " aye, Sir, conſider of it for the laſt time." To which Monſieur Matthews anſwered briſkly, in going out, *Sire, tout ou rien*, &c. " Sir, all or " none, as I have had the honour to tell your ma- " jeſty before." Which puts it beyond diſpute what the quality of thoſe perſons were, by whom Monſieur Matthews had the honour to be entertained.

On Saturday the 24th, Monſieur Matthews kept cloſe as before; telling me, " a poſt-chaiſe was or- " dered, to carry him to Calais; and he would do " me the grace * to take me with him, to keep him

* An affected Galliciſm, to favour the idea of the whole being a tranſlation. The like artifice may be obſerved in ſome other paſſages.

" company in the journey, for he ſhould leave " Monſieur De la Baſtide at Verſailles." While we were diſcourſing, that gentleman came in, with an open air, and a ſmiling countenance. He embraced Monſieur Matthews; and ſeemed to feel ſo much joy, that he could not eaſily conceal it. I left the chamber, and retired to my own; whence I could hear him ſay, " Courage, Monſieur: no " travelling to-day. Madame Maintenon will have " me once more conduct you to her." After which I was called, and received orders about dinner, &c. Monſieur De la Baſtide told me, " We " ſhould ſet out about midnight." He ſtaid the reſt of the day with Monſieur Matthews. About ten o'clock they went forth, but diſpenſed with my attendance; it was one in the morning before they returned, though the chaiſe was at the gate ſoon after eleven. Monſieur Matthews took a morſel of bread, and a large glaſs of Hermitage wine; after which they embraced with much kindneſs, and ſo parted.

Our journey to Calais paſſed without any accident worth informing you. Mr. Prior, who is of a conſtitution ſomewhat tender, was troubled with a rheum, which made ſpeaking uneaſy to him: but it was not ſo at all to me; and therefore I entertained him, as well as I could, chiefly with the praiſes of our great monarch, the magnificence of his court, the number of his attendants, the awe and veneration paid him by his generals and miniſters, and the immenſe riches of the kingdom. One afternoon, in a ſmall village between Chau-

mont and Beauvais, as I was diſcourſing on this ſubject, ſeveral poor people followed the chaiſe, to beg our charity: one louder than the reſt, a comely perſon, about fifty, all in rags, but with a mien that ſhewed him to be of a good houſe, cried out, *Monſieur, pour l'amour de Dieu*, &c. "Sir, for "the love of God, give ſomething to the marquis "De Sourdis!" Mr. Prior, half aſleep, rouzed himſelf up at the name of marquis, called the poor gentleman to him, and, obſerving ſomething in his behaviour like a man of quality, very generouſly threw him a piſtole. As the coach went on, Monſieur Prior aſked me, with much ſurprize, "Whether I thought it poſſible that unhappy crea-"ture could be *un veritable marquis* *; for, if it "were ſo, ſurely the miſeries of our country muſt "be much greater than even our very enemies "could hope or believe?" I made bold to tell him, "That I thought we could not well judge "from particulars to generals; and that I was ſure "there were great numbers of marquiſes in France, "who had ten thouſand livres a year." I tell you this paſſage, to let you ſee, that the wiſeſt men have ſome prejudices of their country about them! We got to Calais on Wedneſday the 28th in the evening; and the next morning (the 29th) I took my leave of Monſieur Prior; who, thanking me in the civileſt manner in the world for the ſervice I had done him, very nobly made me a preſent of fifty piſtoles; and ſo we parted. He put to ſea with a

* A real marquis.

fair

fair wind, and I ſuppoſe, in a few hours landed in England.

This, Sir, is the utmoſt I am able to inform you about Monſieur Prior's journey and negotiation. Time alone will let us know the events of it, which are yet in the dark. I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient and
moſt humble ſervant,
DU BAUDRIER.

POSTSCRIPT,

By the TRANSLATOR.

The Author of this tract, having left his maſter on ſhipboard at Calais, had, it ſeems, no farther intelligence when he publiſhed it: neither am I able to ſupply it, but by what paſſes in common report; which, being in every body's mouth, but with no certainty, I think it needleſs to repeat.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GUARDIAN CONSIDERED, IN A SECOND LETTER TO THE BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

By a FRIEND of Mr. STEELE.

First printed in 1713.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

MR. Steele, in his "Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge," has given us leave "to treat him as we think fit, as he "is our brother-ſcribbler; but not to attack him as an honeſt "man," p. 40. That is to ſay, he allows us to be his criticks, but not his anſwerers; and he is altogether in the right, for there is in his letter much to be criticiſed, and little to be anſwered. The ſituation and importance of Dunkirk are pretty well known. Monſ. Tugghe's memorial, publiſhed and handed about by the whigs, is allowed to be a very trifling paper: and as to the immediate demoliſhment of that town, Mr. Steele pretends to offer no other argument but the expectations of the people, which is a figurative ſpeech, naming the tenth part for the whole; as Bradſhaw told king Charles I., that the people of England expected juſtice againſt him. I have therefore entered very little into the ſubject he pretends to treat; but have conſidered his pamphlet partly as a critick, and partly as a commentator; which, I think, is "to treat him only as my bro-"ther-ſcribbler," according to the permiſſion he has graciouſly allowed me.

1713.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL

Mr. JOHN SNOW,

BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

SIR,

I HAVE juſt been reading a twelvepenny pamphlet about Dunkirk, addreſſed to your Worſhip from one of your intended Repreſentatives; and I find ſeveral paſſages in it which want explanation, eſpecially to you in the country: for we in town have a way of talking and writing, which is very little underſtood beyond the bills of mortality. I have therefore made bold to ſend you here a ſecond letter, by way of comment upon the former.

In order to this, "You, Mr. Bailiff, and at the "ſame time the whole borough," may pleaſe to take notice, that London writers often put titles to their papers and pamphlets, which have little or no reference to the main deſign of the work: ſo, for inſtance, you will obſerve in reading, that the letter called, "The Importance of Dunkirk," is wholly taken up in ſhewing you the importance of Mr. Steele; wherein it was indeed reaſonable your borough ſhould be informed, which had choſen him to repreſent them.

I would therefore place the importance of this gentleman before you, in a clearer light than he has

given himſelf the trouble to do; without running into his early hiſtory, becauſe I owe him no malice.

Mr. Steele is author of two tolerable plays, or at leaſt of the greateſt part of them; which, added to the company he kept, and to the continual converſation and friendſhip of Mr. Addiſon, has given him the character of a wit. To take the height of his learning, you are to ſuppoſe a lad juſt fit for the univerſity, and ſent early from thence into the wide world, where he followed every way of life, that might leaſt improve, or preſerve, the rudiments he had got. He has no invention, nor is maſter of a tolerable ſtyle; his chief talent is humour, which he ſometimes diſcovers both in writing and diſcourſe; for, after the firſt bottle, he is no diſagreeable companion. I never knew him taxed with ill-nature, which has made me wonder how ingratitude came to be his prevailing vice; and I am apt to think it proceeds more from ſome unaccountable ſort of inſtinct, than premeditation. Being the moſt imprudent man alive, he never follows the advice of his friends; but is wholly at the mercy of fools or knaves, or hurried away by his own caprice; by which he has committed more abſurdities, in œconomy, friendſhip, love, duty, good-manners, politicks, religion, and writing, than ever fell to one man's ſhare. He was appointed Gazetteer by Mr. Harley (then ſecretary of ſtate) at the recommendation of Mr. Maynwaring, with a ſalary of three hundred pounds; was a commiſſioner of ſtampt-paper, of equal profit; and had

had a penſion of a hundred pounds *per annum*, as a ſervant to the late prince George.

This gentleman, whom I have now deſcribed to you, began between four and five years ago to publiſh a paper thrice a week, called the Tatler. It came out under the borrowed name of Iſaac Bickerſtaff, and, by contribution of his ingenious friends, grew to have a great reputation, and was equally eſteemed by both parties, becauſe it meddled with neither. But, ſome time after Sacheverell's trial, when things began to change their aſpect, Mr. Steele, whether by the command of his ſuperiors, his own inconſtancy, or the abſence of his aſſiſtants, would needs corrupt his paper with politicks; publiſhed one or two moſt virulent libels, and choſe for his ſubject even that individual Mr. Harley, who had made him Gazetteer. But, his finger and thumb not proving ſtrong enough to ſtop the general torrent, there was a univerſal change made in the miniſtry; and the two new ſecretaries, not thinking it decent to employ a man in their office who had acted ſo infamous a part, Mr. Steele, to avoid being diſcarded, thought fit to reſign his place of Gazetteer. Upon which occaſion, I cannot forbear relating a paſſage "to you, Mr. Bai-"liff, and the reſt of the borough," which diſcovers a very peculiar turn of thought in this gentleman you have choſen to repreſent you. When Mr. Maynwaring recommended him to the employment of Gazetteer, Mr. Harley, out of an inclination to encourage men of parts, raiſed that office from fifty pounds to three hundred pounds a year.

year. Mr. Steele, according to form, came to give his new patron thanks; but the ſecretary, who would rather confer a hundred favours, than receive acknowledgements for one, ſaid to him, in a moſt obliging manner, "Pray, Sir, do not thank me; "but thank Mr. Maynwaring." Soon after Mr. Steele's quitting that employment, he complained to a gentleman in office, of the hardſhip put upon him in being forced to quit his place; that he knew Mr. Harley was the cauſe; that he never had done Mr. Harley any injury, nor received any obligation from him. The gentleman, amazed at this diſcourſe, put him in mind of thoſe libels publiſhed in his Tatlers. Mr. Steele ſaid, he was only the publiſher, for they had been ſent him by other hands. The gentleman thinking this a very monſtrous kind of excuſe, and not allowing it, Mr. Steele then ſaid, "Well, I have libelled him, and "he has turned me out; and ſo we are equal."— But neither would this be granted: and he was aſked whether the place of Gazetteer were not an obligation? "No," ſaid he, "not from Mr. Har- "ley; for, when I went to thank him, he forbad "me, and ſaid, I muſt only thank Mr. Mayn- "waring."

But I return, Mr. Bailiff, to give you a farther account of this gentleman's importance. In leſs, I think, than two years, the town and he grew weary of the Tatler: he was ſilent for ſome months; and then a daily paper came from him and his friends, under the name of Spectator, with good ſucceſs: this being likewiſe dropt after a certain

tain period, he has of late appeared under the ſtyle of Guardian, which he has now likewiſe quitted for that of Engliſhman; but, having choſen other aſſiſtance, or truſting more to himſelf, his papers have been very coldly received, which has made him fly for relief to the never-failing ſource of faction.

In the beginning of Auguſt laſt, Mr. Steele writes a letter to Neſtor Ironſide, eſq; and ſubſcribes it with the name of "Engliſh Tory." On the 7th, the ſaid Ironſide publiſhes this letter in the Guardian. How ſhall I explain this matter to you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough? You muſt know then, that Mr. Steele and Mr. Ironſide are the ſame perſons, becauſe there is a great relation between Iron and Steel; and Engliſh Tory and Mr. Steele are the ſame perſons, becauſe there is no relation at all between Mr. Steele and an Engliſh Tory; ſo that, to render this matter clear to the very meaneſt capacities, Mr. Engliſh Tory, the very ſame perſon with Mr. Steele, writes a letter to Neſtor Ironſide, eſq; who is the ſame perſon with Engliſh Tory, who is the ſame perſon with Mr. Steele: and Mr. Ironſide, who is the ſame perſon with Engliſh Tory, publiſhes the letter written by Engliſh Tory, who is the ſame perſon with Mr. Steele, who is the ſame perſon with Mr. Ironſide. This letter, written and publiſhed by theſe three gentlemen, who are one of your repreſentatives, complains of a printed paper in French and Engliſh, lately handed about the town, and given gratis to paſſengers in the ſtreets at noon-day;

the title whereof is, " A moſt humble Addreſs, or " Memorial, preſented to her Majeſty the Queen " of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magiſ- " trates of Dunkirk." This deputy, it ſeems, is called the Sieur Tugghe. Now, the remarks made upon this memorial by Mr. Engliſh Tory, in his letter to Mr. Ironſide, happening to provoke the Examiner and another pamphleteer, they both fell hard upon Mr. Steele, charging him with inſolence and ingratitude towards the queen. But Mr. Steele, nothing daunted, writes a long letter " to you, " Mr. Bailiff, and at the ſame time to the whole " borough," in his own vindication. But, there being ſeveral difficult paſſages in this letter, which may want clearing up, I here ſend you and the borough my annotations upon it.

Mr. Steele, in order to diſplay his importance to your borough, begins his letter by letting you know " he is no ſmall man," p. 1; becauſe, in the pamphlets he has ſent you down, you will " find him ſpoken of more than once in print." It is indeed a great thing to be " ſpoken of in print," and muſt needs make a mighty ſound at Stockbridge among the electors. However, if Mr. Steele has really ſent you down all the pamphlets and papers printed ſince the diſſolution, you will find he is not the only perſon of importance; I could inſtance Abel Roper, Mr. Marten the ſurgeon, Mr. John Moore the apothecary at the peſtle and mortar, Sir William Read her majeſty's oculiſt, and, of later name and fame, Mr. John Smith the corn-cutter, with ſeveral others who are " ſpoken of

" more

" more than once in print." Then he recommends to your peruſal, and ſends you a copy of, a printed paper given *gratis* about the ſtreets, which is the memorial of Monſieur Tugghe, above-mentioned, " Deputy of the magiſtrates of Dunkirk," to deſire her majeſty not to demoliſh the ſaid town. He tells you how inſolent a thing it is, that ſuch a paper ſhould be publicly diſtributed, and he tells you true; but theſe inſolences are very frequent among the whigs. One of their preſent topicks for clamour is Dunkirk: here is a memorial ſaid to be preſented to the queen by an obſcure Frenchman; one of your party gets a copy, and immediately prints it by contribution, and delivers it gratis to the people; which anſwers ſeveral ends. Firſt, It is meant to lay an odium on the miniſtry. Secondly, If the town be ſoon demoliſhed, Mr. Steele and his faction have the merit; their arguments and threatenings have frightened my lord treaſurer. Thirdly, If the demoliſhing ſhould be farther deferred, the nation will be fully convinced of his lordſhip's intention to bring over the Pretender.

Let us turn over fourteen pages, which contain the memorial itſelf, and which is indeed as idle a one as ever I read; we come now to Mr. Steele's letter, under the name of Engliſh Tory, to Mr. Ironſide. In the preface to this letter, p. 15, he has theſe words; " It is certain there is not much " danger in delaying the demolition of Dunkirk " during the life of his preſent moſt chriſtian ma- " jeſty, who is renowned for the moſt inviolable

" regard to treaties; but that pious prince is aged, " and in caſe of his deceaſe, &c." This preface is in the words of Mr. Ironſide, a profeſſed whig; and perhaps you in the country will wonder to hear a zealot of your own party, celebrating the French king for his piety and his religious performance of treaties. For this, I can aſſure you, is not ſpoken in jeſt, or to be underſtood by contrary. There is a wonderful reſemblance between that prince and the party of whigs among us. Is he for arbitrary government? So are they. Has he perſecuted proteſtants? So have the whigs. Did he attempt to reſtore king James and his pretended ſon? They did the ſame. Would he have Dunkirk ſurrendered to him? This is what they deſire. Does he call himſelf the Moſt Chriſtian? The whigs aſſume the ſame title, though their leaders deny chriſtianity. Does he break his promiſes? Did they ever keep theirs?

From the 16th to the 38th page, Mr. Steele's pamphlet is taken up with a copy of his letter to Mr. Ironſide, the remarks of the Examiner and another author upon that letter: the hydrography of ſome French and Engliſh ports, and his anſwer to Mr. Tugghe's memorial. The bent of his diſcourſe is, in appearance, to ſhew of what prodigious conſequence to the welfare of England the ſurrender of Dunkirk was. But here, Mr. Bailiff, you muſt be careful; for all this is ſaid in raillery; for you may eaſily remember, that when the town was firſt yielded to the queen, the whigs declared it was of no conſequence at all, that the French could

eaſily

eaſily repair it after the demolition, or fortify another a few miles off, which would be of more advantage to them. So that what Mr. Steele tells you, of the prodigious benefit that will accrue to England by deſtroying this port, is only ſuited to preſent junctures and circumſtances. For, if Dunkirk ſhould now be repreſented as inſignificant as when it was firſt put into her majeſty's hands, it would ſignify nothing whether it were demoliſhed or not, and conſequently one principal topick of clamour would fall to the ground.

In Mr. Steele's anſwer to Monſieur Tugghe's arguments againſt the demoliſhing of Dunkirk, I have not obſerved any thing that ſo much deſerves your peculiar notice, as the great eloquence of your new member, and his wonderful faculty of varying his ſtyle, which he calls "proceeding like a man of great gravity and buſineſs," p. 31. He has ten argumeats of Tugghe's to anſwer; and becauſe he will not go in the old beaten road, like a parſon of a pariſh, firſt, ſecondly, thirdly, &c. his manner is this:

In anſwer to the Sieur's Firſt.
As to the Sieur's Second.
As to his Third.
As to the Sieur's Fourth.
As to Mr. Deputy's Fifth.
As to the Sieur's Sixth.
As to this Agent's Seventh.
As to the Sieur's Eighth.
As to his Ninth.
As to the Memorialiſt's Tenth.

You ſee every ſecond expreſſion is more or leſs diverſified, to avoid the repetition of, "As to the Sieur's, &c." and there is the tenth into the bargain. I could heartily wiſh Monſieur Tugghe had been able to find ten arguments more, and thereby given Mr. Steele an opportunity of ſhewing the utmoſt variations our language would bear, in ſo momentous a trial.

Mr. Steele tells you, "That having now done "with his foreign enemy Monſieur Tugghe, he "muſt face about to his domeſtic foes, who accuſe "him of ingratitude, and inſulting his prince, "while he is eating her bread."

To do him juſtice, he acquits himſelf pretty tolerably of this laſt charge: for he aſſures you, he gave up his ſtampt-paper office, and penſion as gentleman-uſher, before he wrote that letter to himſelf in the Guardian; ſo that he had already received his ſalary, and ſpent his money, and conſequently the bread was eaten at leaſt a week before he would offer to inſult his prince: ſo that the folly of the Examiner's objecting ingratitude to him upon this article, is manifeſt to all the world.

But, he tells you, he has quitted thoſe employments, to render him more uſeful to his queen and country, in the ſtation you have honoured him with. That, no doubt, was the principal motive; however, I ſhall venture to add ſome others. Firſt, the Guardian apprehended it impoſſible, that the miniſtry would let him keep his place much longer, after the part he had acted for above two years paſt. Secondly, Mr. Ironſide ſaid publicly, that he was

aſhamed

aſhamed to be obliged any longer to a perſon (meaning Lord Treaſurer) whom he had uſed ſo ill: for, it ſeems, a man ought not to uſe his benefactors ill, above two years and a half. Thirdly, The Sieur Steele appeals for protection to you, Mr. Bailiff, from others of your denomination, who would have carried him ſomewhere elſe, if you had not relieved him by your *habeas corpus* to St. Stephen's Chapel. Fourthly, Mr. Engliſh Tory found, by calculating the life of a miniſtry, that it has laſted above three years, and is near expiring; he reſolved, therefore, to "ſtrip off the very garments "ſpotted with the fleſh," and be wholly regenerate againſt the return of his old maſters.

In order to ſerve all theſe ends, your borough has honoured him (as he expreſſes it) with chooſing him to repreſent you in parliament; and it muſt be owned, he has equally honoured you. Never was borough more happy in ſuitable repreſentatives, than you are in Mr. Steele and his colleague *; nor were ever repreſentatives more happy in a ſuitable borough.

When Mr. Steele talked of "laying before her "majeſty's miniſtry, that the nation has a ſtrict "eye upon their behaviour with relation to Dun-"kirk," p. 39; did not you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough, preſently imagine he had drawn up a ſort of counter-memorial to that of Monſieur Tugghe, and preſented it in form to my lord treaſurer, or a ſecretary of ſtate? I am confident you did; but this comes by not underſtanding

* Thomas Broderick, eſq.

the town. You are to know then, that Mr. Steele publiſhes every day a penny-paper, to be read in coffee-houſes, and get him a little money. This, by a figure of ſpeech, he calls, "laying things be- "fore the miniſtry," who ſeem at preſent a little too buſy to regard ſuch memorials; and, I dare ſay, never ſaw his paper, unleſs he ſent it by the penny-poſt.

Well, but he tells you, "he cannot offer againſt "the Examiner and his other adverſary, reaſon "and argument, without appearing void of both," ibid. What a ſingular ſituation of the mind is this! How glad ſhould I be to hear a man "offer "reaſons and argument, and yet at the ſame time "appear void of both!" But this whole paragraph is of a peculiar ſtrain; the conſequences ſo juſt and natural, and ſuch a propriety in thinking, as few authors ever arrive at. "Since it has been "the faſhion to run down men of much greater "conſequence than I am; I will not bear the ac- "cuſation," ibid. This, I ſuppoſe, is, "to offer "reaſons and arguments, and yet appear void of "both." And in the next lines; "Theſe writers "ſhall treat me as they think fit, as I am their "brother-ſcribbler; but I ſhall not be ſo uncon- "cerned when they attack me as an honeſt man," p. 40. And how does he defend himſelf? "I ſhall "therefore inform them, that it is not in the power "of a private man, to hurt the prerogative," &c. Well; I ſhall treat him only as a brother-ſcribbler; and I gueſs he will hardly be attacked as an honeſt man; but, if his meaning be that his honeſty ought

not to be attacked, becauſe he " has no power to " hurt the honour and prerogative of the crown " without being puniſhed;" he will make an admirable reaſoner in the houſe of commons.

But all this wiſe argumentation was introduced, only to cloſe the paragraph, by haling in a fact, which he relates to you and your borough, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and expreſs his duty and gratitude to the queen. The fact is this; " That her majeſty's honour is in danger of " being loſt, by her miniſters' tolerating villains " without conſcience to abuſe the greateſt inſtru- " ments of honour and glory to our country, the " moſt wiſe and faithful managers, and the moſt " pious, diſintereſted, generous, and ſelf-denying " patriots;" and the inſtances he produces are, the duke of Marlborough, the late earl of Godolphin, and about two thirds of the biſhops.

Mr. Bailiff, I cannot debate this matter at length, without putting you, and the reſt of my countrymen who will be at the expence, to ſix-pence charge extraordinary. The duke and earl were both removed from their employments; and I hope you have too great a reſpect for the queen, to think it was done for nothing. The former was at the head of many great actions; and he has received plentiful oblations of praiſe and profit: yet, having read all that ever was objected againſt him by the Examiner, I will undertake to prove every ſyllable of it true, particularly that famous attempt to be general for life. The earl of Godolphin is dead, and his faults may ſojourn with him in the grave,

till

till ſome hiſtorian ſhall think fit to revive part of them, for inſtruction and warning to poſterity. But it grieved me to the ſoul, to ſee ſo many good epithets beſtowed by Mr. Steele upon the biſhops: nothing has done more hurt to that ſacred order for ſome years paſt, than to hear ſome prelates extolled by whigs, diſſenters, republicans, ſocinians, and, in ſhort, by all who are enemies to epiſcopacy. God, in his mercy, for ever keep our prelates from deſerving the praiſes of ſuch panegyriſts!

Mr. Steele is diſcontented that the miniſtry have not "called the Examiner to account, as well as the "Flying-Poſt." I will inform you, Mr. Bailiff, how that matter ſtands. The author of the Flying-Poſt has thrice a week, for above two years together, publiſhed the moſt impudent reflections upon all the preſent miniſtry, upon all their proceedings, and upon the whole body of tories. The Examiner, on the other ſide, writing in defence of thoſe whom her majeſty employs in her greateſt affairs, and of the cauſe they are engaged in, has always borne hard upon the whigs, and now and then upon ſome of their leaders. Now, Sir, we reckon here, that ſuppoſing the perſons on both ſides to be of equal intrinſic worth, it is more impudent, immoral, and criminal, to reflect on a majority in power, than a minority out of power. Put the caſe, that an odd raſcally tory in your borough ſhould preſume to abuſe your worſhip, who, in the language of Mr. Steele, are firſt miniſters, and the majority of your brethren, for ſending two ſuch whig repreſentatives up to parliament; and on the

other

other ſide, that an honeſt whig ſhould ſtand in your defence, and fall foul on the tories; would you equally reſent the proceedings of both, and let your friend and enemy ſit in the ſtocks together? Hearken to another caſe, Mr. Bailiff; ſuppoſe your worſhip, during your annual adminiſtration, ſhould happen to be kicked and cuffed by a parcel of tories; would not the circumſtance of your being a magiſtrate make the crime the greater, than if the like inſults were committed on an ordinary tory ſhopkeeper, by a company of honeſt whigs? What bailiff would venture to arreſt Mr. Steele, now he has the honour to be your repreſentative? and what bailiff ever ſcrupled it before?

You muſt know, Sir, that we have ſeveral ways here of abuſing one another, without incurring the danger of the law. Firſt, we are careful never to print a man's name out at length; but, as I do, that of Mr. St—le *: ſo that, although every body alive knows whom I mean, the plaintiff can have no redreſs in any court of juſtice. Secondly, by putting caſes; thirdly, by inſinuations; fourthly, by celebrating the actions of others, who acted directly contrary to the perſons we would reflect on; fifthly, by nicknames, either commonly known or ſtamped for the purpoſe, which every body can tell how to apply. Without going on farther, it will be enough to inform you, that by ſome of the ways I have already mentioned, Mr. Steele gives you to underſtand, that the queen's honour is blaſted by

* Thus, in the firſt edition, the name was conſtantly contracted.

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the actions of her preſent miniſters; that "her pre-
"rogative is diſgraced by creating a dozen peers,
"who, by their votes, turned a point upon which
"your all depended; that theſe miniſters made the
"queen lay down her conquering arms, and de-
"liver herſelf up to be vanquiſhed; that they made
"her majeſty betray her allies, by ordering her
"army to face about, and leave them in the mo-
"ment of diſtreſs; that the preſent miniſters are
"men of poor and narrow conceptions, ſelf-inte-
"reſted, and without benevolence to mankind, and
"were brought into her majeſty's favour for the
"ſins of the nation: and only think what they
"may do, not what they ought to do," p. 43.
This is the character given by Mr. Steele of thoſe perſons whom her majeſty has thought fit to place in the higheſt ſtations of the kingdom, and to truſt with the management of her moſt weighty affairs: and this is the gentleman who cries out, "Where
"is honour? where is government? where is pre-
"rogative?" p. 40; becauſe the Examiner has ſometimes dealt freely with thoſe whom the queen has thought fit to diſcard, and the parliament to cenſure.

But Mr. Steele thinks it highly dangerous to the prince, "that any man ſhould be hindered from
"offering his thoughts upon public affairs;" and reſolves to do it, "though with the loſs of her ma-
jeſty's favour," p. 45. If a clergyman offers to preach obedience to the higher powers, and proves it by ſcripture; Mr. Steele and his fraternity immediately cry out, "What have parſons to do with
"poli-

" politicks?" I aſk, What ſhadow of a pretence has he to offer his crude thoughts in matters of ſtate? to print and publiſh them? " to lay them before " the queen and miniſtry?" and to reprove both for mal-adminiſtration? How did he acquire theſe abilities of directing in the councils of princes? Was it from **publiſhing** Tatlers and Spectators, and writing now and then a Guardian? was it from his being a ſoldier, alchemiſt *, gazetteer, commiſſioner of ſtampt-papers, or gentleman-uſher? No; but he inſiſts it is every man's right to find fault with the adminiſtration in print, whenever they pleaſe: and therefore you, Mr. Bailiff, and as many of your brethren in the borough as can write and read, may publiſh pamphlets, and " lay them before the queen " and miniſtry," to ſhew your utter diſlike of all their proceedings; and for this reaſon, becauſe you " can certainly ſee and apprehend, with your own " eyes and underſtanding, thoſe dangers which the " miniſters do not."

One thing I am extremely concerned about, that Mr. Steele reſolves, as he tells you, p. 46, when he comes into the houſe, " to follow no leaders, but " vote according to the dictates of his conſcience." He muſt, at that rate, be a very uſeleſs member to his party, unleſs his conſcience be already cut out and ſhaped for their ſervice, which I am ready to believe it is, if I may have leave to judge from the whole tenor of his life. I would only have his

* Sir Richard Steele was one of the laſt eminent men who entertained hopes of being ſucceſsful in the purſuit of the Philoſopher's Stone. His laboratory was at Poplar, a village near London; and is now converted into a garden-houſe.

friends

friends be cautious, not to reward him too liberally: for, as it was ſaid of Cranmer, "Do the arcnbiſhop "an ill turn, and he is your friend for ever." So "I do affirm of your member, Do Mr. Steele a "good turn, and he is your enemy for ever."

I had like to let ſlip a very trivial matter which I ſhould be ſorry to have done. In reading this pamphlet, I obſerved ſeveral miſtakes, but knew not whether to impute them to the author or printer; till, turning to the end, I found there was only one erratum, thus ſet down, "Pag. 45. line "28. for *admonition* read *advertiſement.*" This (to imitate Mr. Steele's propriety of ſpeech) is a very old practice among new writers, to make a wilful miſtake, and then put it down as an erratum. The word is brought in upon this occaſion, to convince all the world that he was not guilty of ingratitude, by reflecting on the queen when he was actually under ſalary, as the Examiner affirms; he aſſures you, he "had reſigned and diveſted himſelf of all, "before he would preſume to write any thing "which was ſo apparently an ADMONITION to thoſe "employed in her majeſty's ſervice." In caſe the Examiner ſhould find fault with this word, he might appeal to the erratum; and having formerly been gazetteer, he conceived he might very ſafely venture to advertiſe.

Yon are to underſtand, Mr. Bailiff, that in the great rebellion againſt king Charles I., there was a diſtinction found out between the perſonal and political capacity of the prince; by the help of which, thoſe rebels profeſſed to fight for the king, while the

the great guns were diſcharging againſt Charles Stuart. After the ſame manner, Mr. Steele diſtinguiſhes between the perſonal and political prerogative. He does not care to truſt this jewel "to the "will, and pleaſure, and paſſion, of her majeſty," p. 48. If I am not miſtaken, the crown-jewels cannot be alienated by the prince; but I always thought the prince could wear them during his reign, elſe they had as good be in the hands of the ſubject: ſo, I conceive, her majeſty may and ought to wear the prerogative; that it is hers during life; and ſhe ought to be ſo much the more careful, neither to ſoil nor diminiſh it, for that very reaſon, becauſe it is by law unalienable. But what muſt we do with this prerogative, according to the notion of Mr. Steele? It muſt not be truſted with the queen, becauſe Providence has given her will, pleaſure, and paſſion. Her miniſters muſt not act by the authority of it; for then Mr. Steele will cry out, "What? Are majeſty and miniſtry conſoli- "dated? and muſt there be no diſtinction between "the one and the other?" p. 46. He tells you, p. 48, "The prerogative attends the crown;" and therefore, I ſuppoſe, muſt lie in the Tower, to be ſhewn for twelve-pence; but never produced, except at a coronation, or paſſing an act. "Well, "but," ſays he, "a whole miniſtry may be im- "peached and condemned by the houſe of com- "mons, without the prince's ſuffering by it." And what follows? Why, therefore, a ſingle burgeſs of Stockbridge, before he gets into the houſe, may at any time revile a whole miniſtry in print, before he knows

knows whether they are guilty of any one neglect of duty, or breach of truſt!

I am willing to join iſſue with Mr. Steele in one particular; which perhaps may give you ſome diverſion. He is taxed, by the Examiner and others, for an inſolent expreſſion, that the Britiſh nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk. He ſays, the word EXPECT was meant to the miniſtry, and not to the queen; "but that, however, for "argument ſake, he will ſuppoſe thoſe words were "addreſſed immediately to the queen." Let me then likewiſe, for argument ſake, ſuppoſe a very ridiculous thing, that Mr. Steele were admitted to her majeſty's ſacred perſon, to tell his own ſtory, with his letter to you, Mr. Bailiff, in his hand, to have recourſe to upon occaſion. I think his ſpeech muſt be in theſe terms:

"Madam,

"I Richard Steele, publiſher of the Tatler and "Spectator, late Gazetteer, commiſſioner of ſtampt "papers, and penſioner to your majeſty, now bur-"geſs elect of Stockbridge, do ſee and apprehend, "with my own eyes and underſtanding, the im-"minent danger that attends the delay of the de-"molition of Dunkirk, which I believe your mi-"niſters, whoſe greater concern it is, do not: for, "Madam, the thing is not done; my lord trea-"ſurer and lord Bolingbroke, my fellow-ſubjects, "under whoſe immediate direction it is, are care-"leſs, and overlook it, or ſomething worſe; I "mean, they deſign to ſell it to France, or make "uſe of it to bring in the Pretender. This is clear,

"from

" from their ſuffering Mr. Tugghe's memorial to
" be publiſhed without puniſhing the printer. Your
" majeſty has told us, that the equivalent for Dun-
" kirk is already in the French King's hands;
" therefore all obſtacles are removed on the part of
" France; and I, though a mean fellow, give your
" majeſty to underſtand, in the beſt method I can
" take, and from the ſincerity of my grateful heart,
" that the Britiſh nation expects the immediate de-
" molition of Dunkirk; as you hope to preſerve
" your perſon, crown, and dignity, and the ſafety
" and welfare of the people committed to your
" charge."

I have contracted ſuch a habit of treating princes familiarly, by reading the pamphlets of Mr. Steele and his fellows, that I am tempted to ſuppoſe her majeſty's anſwer to this ſpeech might be as follows:

" Mr. Richard Steele, late Gazetteer, &c.

" I do not conceive that any of your titles em-
" power you to be my director, or to report to me
" the expectations of my people. I know their
" expectations better than you; they love me, and
" will truſt me. My miniſters were of my own
" free choice; I have found them wiſe and faith-
" ful; and whoever calls them fools or knaves, de-
" ſigns indirectly an affront to myſelf. I am un-
" der no obligations to demoliſh Dunkirk, but to
" the moſt chriſtian king; if you come here as an
" orator from that prince to demand it in his name,
" where are your powers? If not, let it ſuffice you
" to know, that I have my reaſons for deferring
" it; and that the clamours of a faction, ſhall not

" be a rule, by which I or my ſervants are to pro-
" ceed."

Mr. Steele tells you, " his adverſaries are ſo un-
" juſt, they will not take the leaſt notice of what
" led him into the neceſſity of writing his letter to
" the Guardian." And how is it poſſible, any mortal ſhould know all his neceſſities? Who can gueſs, whether this neceſſity were impoſed on him by his ſuperiors, or by the itch of party, or by the mere want of other matter to furniſh out a Guardian?

But Mr. Steele " has had a liberal education, and
" knows the world as well as the miniſtry does,
" and will therefore ſpeak on, whether he offends
" them or no, and though their clothes be ever ſo
" new; when he thinks his queen and country is
" (or, as a grammarian would expreſs it, are) ill-
" treated," p. 50.

It would be good to hear Mr. Steele explain himſelf upon this phraſe of " knowing the world;" becauſe it is a ſcience which maintains abundance of pretenders. Every idle young rake, who underſtands how to pick up a wench, or bilk a hackney-coachman, or can call the players by their names, and is acquainted with five or ſix faces in the chocolate-houſe, will needs paſs for a man that " knows the world." In the like manner Mr. Steele, who, from ſome few ſprinklings of rudimental literature, proceeded a gentleman of the horſe-guards, thence by ſeveral degrees to be an enſign and an alchemiſt, where he was wholly converſant with the lower part of mankind, thinks he

" knows

" knows the world" as well as the prime miniſter; and, upon the ſtrength of that knowledge, will needs direct her majeſty in the weightieſt matters of government.

And now, Mr. Bailiff, give me leave to inform you, that this long letter of Mr. Steele, filled with quotations and a clutter about Dunkirk, was wholly written for the ſake of the ſix laſt pages, taken up in vindicating himſelf directly, and vilifying the queen and miniſtry by innuendo's. He apprehends, that " ſome repreſentations have been given of him " in your town, as, that a man of ſo ſmall a for- " tune as he, muſt have ſecret views or ſupports, " which could move him to leave his employments, " &c." p. 56. He anſwers, by owning " he has " indeed very particular views; for he is animated " in his conduct by juſtice and truth, and benevo- " lence to mankind," p. 57. He has given up his employments, becauſe " he values no advantages " above the conveniencies of life, but as they tend " to the ſervice of the publick." It ſeems, he could not " ſerve the publick" as a penſioner, or commiſ- ſioner of ſtampt paper; and therefore gave them up, to ſit in parliament, " out of charity to his " country, and to contend for liberty," p. 58. He has tranſcribed the common-places of ſome cant- ing moraliſt *de contemptu mundi, & fuga ſeculi;* and would put them upon you as rules derived from his own practice.

Here is a moſt miraculous and ſudden reforma- tion, which I believe can hardly be matched in hiſ- tory, or legend. And Mr. Steele, not unaware

how ſlow the world was of belief, has thought fit to anticipate all objections; he foreſees that "proſ-" tituted pens will entertain a pretender to ſuch "reformations with a recital of his own faults and "infirmities; but he is prepared for ſuch uſage, "and gives himſelf up to all nameleſs authors, to "be treated as they pleaſe," p. 59.

It is certain, Mr. Bailiff, that no man breathing can pretend to have arrived at ſuch a ſublime pitch of virtue, as Mr. Steele, without ſome tendency in the world to ſuſpend at leaſt their belief of the fact, till time and obſervation ſhall determine. But, I hope, few writers will be ſo proſtitute as to trouble themſelves with "the faults and infirmities" of Mr. Steele's paſt life, with what he ſomewhere elſe calls "the ſins of his youth," and in one of his late papers, confeſſes to have been numerous enough. A ſhifting ſcambling ſcene of youth, attended with poverty and ill company, may put a man of no ill inclinations upon many extravagancies, which, as ſoon as they are left off, are eaſily pardoned and forgotten. Beſides, I think, Popiſh writers tell us, that the greateſt ſinners make the greateſt ſaints; but ſo very quick a ſanctification, and carried to ſo prodigious a height, will be apt to rouſe the ſuſpicion of infidels, eſpecially when they conſider that this pretence of his to ſo romantic a virtue, is only advanced by way of ſolution to that difficult problem, "Why he has given up his employments?" And according to the new philoſophy, they will endeavour to ſolve it by ſome eaſier and ſhorter way. For example, the queſtion is put, Why Mr.

Steele

Steele gives up his employment and penſion at this juncture? I muſt here repeat, with ſome enlargement, what I ſaid before on this head. Theſe unbelieving gentlemen will anſwer,

Firſt, That a new commiſſion was every day expected for the ſtampt paper, and he knew his name would be left out; and therefore his reſignation would be an appearance of virtue cheaply bought.

Secondly, He dreaded the violence of creditors, againſt which his employments were no manner of ſecurity.

Thirdly, Being a perſon of great ſagacity, he has ſome foreſight of a change, from the uſual age of a miniſtry, which is now almoſt expired; from the little miſunderſtandings that have been reported ſometimes to happen among the men in power; from the bill of commerce being rejected, and from ſome horrible expectations, wherewith his party have been deceiving themſelves and their friends abroad for about two years paſt.

Fourthly, He hopes to come into all the perquiſites of his predeceſſor Ridpath, and be the principal writer of his faction, where every thing is printed by ſubſcription, which will amply make up the loſs of his place.

But it may be ſtill demanded, why he affects thoſe exalted ſtrains of piety and reſignation? To this I anſwer, with great probability, that he has reſumed his old purſuits after the philoſopher's-ſtone, towards which it is held by all adepts for a moſt eſſential ingredient, that a man muſt ſeek it

merely for the glory of God, and without the leaſt deſire of being rich.

Mr. Steele is angry, p. 60, that ſome of our friends have been reflected on in a Pamphlet, becauſe they left us in a point of the greateſt conſequence; and upon that account, he runs into their panegyrick, againſt his conſcience, and the intereſt of his cauſe, without conſidering that thoſe gentlemen have reverted to us again. The caſe is thus: he never would have praiſed them if they had remained firm, nor ſhould we have railed at them. The one is full as honeſt, and as natural, as the other. However, Mr. Steele hopes (I beg you, Mr. Bailiff, to obſerve the conſequence) that notwithſtanding this Pamphlet's reflecting on ſome Tories who oppoſed the Treaty of Commerce, "the miniſtry will ſee Dunkirk effectually de-"moliſhed."

Mr. Steele ſays ſomething in commendation of the queen; but ſtops ſhort, and tells you (if I take his meaning right) "that he ſhall leave what he "has to ſay on this topick, till he and her majeſty "are both dead," p. 61. Thus, he defers his praiſes, as he does his debts, after the manner of the druids, to be paid in another world. If I have ill interpreted him, it is his own fault, for ſtudying cadence inſtead of propriety, and filling up niches with words before he has adjuſted his conceptions to them. One part of the queen's character is this, "that all the hours of her life are divided between "the exerciſes of devotion, and taking minutes of

" the ſublime affairs of her government." Now, if the buſineſs of Dunkirk be one of the "ſublime affairs " of her majeſty's government," I think we ought to be at eaſe; or elſe ſhe "takes her minutes" to little purpoſe. No, ſays Mr. Steele, the queen is a lady; and unleſs a prince will now and then get drunk with his miniſters, " he cannot learn their intereſts " or humours," p. 61.; but, this being by no means proper for a lady, ſhe can know nothing but what they think fit to tell her when they are ſober. And therefore " all the fellow-ſubjects" of theſe miniſters muſt watch their motions, and " be very " ſolicitous for what paſſes beyond the ordinary " rules of government;" ibid. For while we are fooliſhly " relying upon her majeſty's virtues," theſe miniſters are " taking the advantage of en- " creaſing the power of France."

There is a very good maxim, I think it is neither Whig nor Tory, " that the prince can do no " wrong;" which, I doubt, is often applied to very ill purpoſes. A monarch of Britain is pleaſed to create a dozen peers, and to make a peace; both theſe actions are (for inſtance) within the undiſputed prerogative of the crown, and are to be reputed, and ſubmitted to, as the actions of the prince: but, as a king of England is ſuppoſed to be guided, in matters of ſuch importance, by the advice of thoſe he employs in his councils; whenever a parliament thinks fit to complain of ſuch proceedings, as a public grievance, then this maxim takes place, that the prince can do no wrong, and the adviſers are called to account. But ſhall this

empower ſuch an individual as Mr. Steele, in his tatling or pamphleteering capacity, to fix " the " ordinary rules of government," or to affirm that " her miniſters, upon the ſecurity of her majeſty's " goodneſs, are labouring for the grandeur of " France?" What ordinary rule of government is tranſgreſſed by the queen's delaying the demolition of Dunkirk? or what addition is thereby made to the grandeur of France? Every taylor in your corporation is as much a fellow-ſubject as Mr. Steele: and do you think, in your conſcience, that every taylor of Stockbridge is fit to direct her majeſty and her miniſters in " the ſublime affairs " of her government?"

But he perſiſts in it, " that it is no manner of " diminution of the wiſdom of a prince, that he " is obliged to act by the information of others." The ſenſe is admirable; and the interpretation is this, that what a man is forced to " is no dimi- " nution of his wiſdom." But, if he would conclude from this ſage maxim, that, becauſe a prince " acts by the information of others," therefore thoſe actions may lawfully be traduced in print by every fellow-ſubject; I hope there is no man in England ſo much a Whig as to be of his opinion.

Mr. Steele concludes his letter to you, with a ſtory about king William and his French dog-keeper, " who gave that prince a gun loaden only " with powder, and then pretended to wonder " how his majeſty could miſs his aim: which " was no argument againſt the king's reputation

" for

" for ſhooting very finely." This he would have you apply, by allowing her majeſty to be a wiſe prince, but deceived by wicked counſellors, who are in the intereſt of France. Her majeſty's aim was peace: which, I think, ſhe has not miſſed; and God be thanked, ſhe has got it, without any more expence, either of ſhot or powder. Her dog-keepers, for ſome years paſt, had directed her gun againſt her friends, and at laſt loaded it ſo deep, that it was in danger to burſt in her hands.

You may pleaſe to obſerve, that Mr. Steele calls this dog-keeper a miniſter; which, with humble ſubmiſſion, is a groſs impropriety of ſpeech. The word is derived from the Latin, where it properly ſignifies a ſervant; but in Engliſh is never made uſe of otherwiſe than to denominate thoſe who are employed in the ſervice of church or ſtate: ſo that the appellation, as he directs it, is no leſs abſurd, than it would be for you, Mr. Bailiff, to ſend your apprentice for a pot of ale, and give him the title of your envoy; to call a petty-conſtable a magiſtrate, or the common hangman a miniſter of juſtice. I confeſs, when I was choqued * at this word in reading the paragraph, a gentleman offered his conjecture, that it might poſſibly be intended for a reflection, or jeſt: but, if there be any thing farther in it than a want of underſtanding our language, I take it to be only a refine-

* This expreſſive word, from the French *choquer*, hath not yet found admiſſion in the beſt of our Engliſh dictionaries: nor doth any of Dr. Johnſon's definitions of the common verb *to choke* come up to the idea in which *choqued* is uſed above.

ment

ment upon the old leveling principle of the Whigs. Thus, in their opinion, a dog-keeper is as much a miniſter as any ſecretary of ſtate: and thus Mr. Steele and my lord treaſurer are both fellow-ſubjects. I confeſs, I have known ſome miniſters, whoſe birth, or qualities, or both, were ſuch, that nothing but the capriciouſneſs of fortune, and the iniquity of the times, could ever have raiſed them above the ſtation of dog-keepers; and to whoſe adminiſtration I ſhould be loth to entruſt a dog I had any value for: becauſe, by the rule of proportion, they who treated their prince like a ſlave, would have uſed their fellow-ſubjects like dogs; and yet how they would treat a dog, I can find no ſimilitude to expreſs; yet, I well remember, they maintained a large number, whom they taught to fawn upon themſelves, and bark at their miſtreſs. However, while they were in ſervice, I wiſh they had only kept her majeſty's dogs, and not been truſted with her guns. And thus much by way of comment upon this worthy ſtory of king William and his dog-keeper.

I have now, Mr. Bailiff, explained to you all the difficult parts in Mr. Steele's letter. As for the importance of Dunkirk, and when it ſhall be demoliſhed, or whether it ſhall be demoliſhed or not; neither he, nor you, nor I, have any thing to do in the matter. Let us all ſay what we pleaſe, her majeſty will think herſelf the beſt judge, and her miniſters the beſt adviſers: neither has Mr. Steele pretended to prove, that any law, eccleſiaſtical or civil, ſtatute or common, is broken,

by

by keeping Dunkirk undemoliſhed, ſo long as the queen ſhall think it beſt for the ſervice of herſelf and her kingdoms; and it is not altogether impoſſible, that there may be ſome few reaſons of ſtate, which have not been yet communicated to Mr. Steele. I am, with reſpect to the borough and yourſelf,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and

moſt obedient ſervant, &c.

THOUGHTS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

WE have juſt * enough religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one-another.

Reflect on things paſt, as wars, negociations, factions, &c. we enter ſo little into thoſe intereſts, that we wonder how men could poſſibly be ſo buſy and concerned, for things ſo tranſitory; look on the preſent times, we find the ſame humour, yet wonder not at all.

A wiſe man endeavours, by conſidering all circumſtances, to make conjectures, and form concluſions; but the ſmalleſt accident intervening (and in the courſe of affairs it is impoſſible to foreſee all) does often produce ſuch turns and changes, that at laſt he is juſt as much in doubt of events, as the moſt ignorant and unexperienced perſon.

Poſitiveneſs is a good quality for preachers and orators, becauſe he that would obtrude his thoughts

* This uſe of the word, *enough*, as an adjective, preceding a ſubſtantive, is not allowed; it ought to be—religion enough to make us hate, &c. or enough of religion, &c.

and

and reaſons upon a multitude, will convince others the more, as he appears convinced himſelf.

How is it poſſible to expect that mankind will take advice, when they will not ſo much as take warning?

I forget whether advice be among the loſt things, which Arioſto ſays are to be found in the moon; that, and time, ought to have been there.

No preacher is liſtened to but time, which gives us the ſame train and turn of thought, that elder people have tried in vain to put into our heads before.

When we deſire or ſolicit any thing, our minds run wholly on the good ſide or circumſtances of it; when it is obtained, our minds run wholly on the bad ones.

In a glaſs-houſe the workmen often fling in a ſmall quantity of freſh coals, which ſeems to diſturb the fire, but very much enlivens it. This ſeems to allude to a gentle ſtirring of the paſſions, that the mind may not languiſh.

Religion ſeems to have grown an infant with age, and requires miracles to nurſe it, as it had in its infancy.

All fits of pleaſure are balanced by an equal degree of pain or languor; it is like ſpending this year, part of the next year's revenue.

The latter part of a wiſe man's life, is taken up in curing the follies, prejudices, and falſe opinions he had contracted in the former.

Would a writer know how to behave himſelf with relation to poſterity, let him conſider in old

books

books what he finds that he is glad to know, and what omiſſions he moſt laments.

Whatever the poets pretend, it is plain they give immortality to none but themſelves: it is Homer and Virgil we reverence and admire, not Achilles or Æneas. With hiſtorians it is quite the contrary; our thoughts are taken up with the actions, perſons, and events we read, and we little regard the authors.

When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by this ſign, that the dunces are all in confederacy againſt him.

Men who poſſeſs all the advantages of life, are in a ſtate where there are many accidents to diſorder and diſcompoſe, but few to pleaſe them.

It is unwiſe to puniſh cowards with ignominy; for if they had regarded that, they would not have been cowards: death is their proper puniſhment, becauſe they fear it moſt.

The greateſt inventions were produced in the times of ignorance; as the uſe of the compaſs, gunpowder, and printing; and by the dulleſt nation, as the Germans.

One argument to prove that the common relations of ghoſts and ſpectres are generally falſe, may be drawn from the opinion held, that ſpirits are never ſeen by more than one perſon at a time; that is to ſay, it ſeldom happens to above one perſon in a company, to be poſſeſſed with any high degree of ſpleen or melancholy.

I am apt to think, that in the day of judgment, there will be ſmall allowance given to the wiſe, for

their

their want of morals, and to the ignorant, for their want of faith, becauſe both are without excuſe. This renders the advantages equal of ignorance and knowledge. But ſome ſcruples in the wiſe, and ſome vices in the ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven, upon the ſtrength of temptation to each.

The value of ſeveral circumſtances in ſtory, leſſens very much by diſtance of time, though ſome minute circumſtances are very valuable; and it requires great judgment in a writer to diſtinguiſh.

It is grown a word of courſe for writers to ſay, This critical age, as divines ſay, This ſinful age.

It is pleaſant to obſerve how free the preſent age is in laying taxes on the next: future ages ſhall talk of this; this ſhall be famous to all poſterity: whereas their time and thoughts will be taken up about preſent things, as ours are now.

The camelion, who is ſaid to feed upon nothing but air, has of all animals the nimbleſt tongue.

When a man is made a ſpiritual peer, he loſes his ſir-name; when a temporal, his chriſtian-name.

It is in diſputes, as in armies; where the weaker ſide ſets up falſe lights, and makes a great noiſe, to make the enemy believe them more numerous and ſtrong than they really are.

Some men, under the notions of weeding out prejudices, eradicate virtue, honeſty, and religion.

In all well-inſtituted commonwealths, care has been taken to limit men's poſſeſſions; which is done for many reaſons, and among the reſt, for one, which perhaps is not often conſidered, that when bounds are ſet to men's deſires, after they have acquired

quired as much as the laws will permit them, their private intereſt is at an end, and they have nothing to do but to take care of the publick.

There are but three ways for a man to revenge himſelf of the cenſure of the world; to deſpiſe it, to return the like, or to endeavour to live ſo as to avoid it: the firſt of theſe is uſually pretended, the laſt is almoſt impoſſible, the univerſal practice is for the ſecond.

Herodotus tells us, that in cold countries beaſts very ſeldom have horns, but in hot they have very large ones. This might bear a pleaſant application.

I never heard a finer piece of ſatire againſt lawyers, than that of aſtrologers, when they pretend, by rules of art, to tell when a ſuit will end, and whether to the advantage of the plaintiff, or defendant; thus making the matter depend entirely upon the influence of the ſtars, without the leaſt regard to the merits of the cauſe.

The expreſſion in Apocrypha about Tobit and his dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed, yet Homer has the ſame words of Telemachus more than once; and Virgil ſays ſomething like it of Evander. And I take the book of Tobit to to be partly poetical.

I have known ſome men poſſeſſed of good qualities, which were very ſerviceable to others, but uſeleſs to themſelves; like a ſun dial on the front of a houſe, to inform the neighbours and paſſengers, but not the owner within.

If a man would regiſter all his opinions upon love, politicks, religion, learning, &c. beginning from his youth and ſo go on to old age, what a bundle of inconſiſtencies and contradictions would appear at laſt?

What they do in heaven we are ignorant of; what they do not we are told expreſly, that they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

When a man obſerves the choice of ladies now-a-days in the diſpenſing of their favours, can he forbear paying ſome veneration to the memory of thoſe mares mentioned by Xenophon, who, while their manes were on, that is, while they were in their beauty, would never admit the embraces of an aſs.

It is a miſerable thing to live in ſuſpenſe; it is the life of a ſpider.

Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba, dixit.
OVID. METAM.

The ſtoical ſcheme of ſupplying our wants, by lopping off our deſires, is like cutting off our feet, when we want ſhoes.

Phyſicians ought not to give their judgment of religion, for the ſame reaſon that butchers are not admitted to be jurors upon life and death.

The reaſon why ſo few marriages are happy, is, becauſe young ladies ſpend their time in making nets, not in making cages.

If a man will obſerve as he walks the ſtreets, I believe he will find the merrieſt countenances in mourning-coaches.

Nothing more unqualifies a man to act with prudence, than a misfortune that is attended with ſhame and guilt.

The power of fortune is confeſſed only by the miſerable; for the happy impute all their ſucceſs to prudence or merit.

Ambition often puts men upon doing the meaneſt offices; ſo climbing is performed in the ſame poſture with creeping.

Ill company is like a dog, who dirts thoſe moſt whom he loves beſt.

Cenſure, is the tax a man pays to the publick, for being eminent.

Although men are accuſed for not knowing their own weakneſs, yet perhaps as few know their own ſtrength. It is in men as in ſoils, where ſometimes there is a vein of gold, which the owner knows not of.

Satire is reckoned the eaſieſt of all wit; but I take it to be otherwiſe in very bad times: for it is as hard to ſatirize well a man of diſtinguiſhed vices, as to praiſe well a man of diſtinguiſhed virtues. It is eaſy enough to do either, to people of moderate characters.

Invention is the talent of youth, and judgment of age; ſo that our judgment grows harder to pleaſe, when we have fewer things to offer it: this goes through the whole commerce of life. When we are old, our friends find it difficult to pleaſe us, and are leſs concerned whether we be pleaſed or not.

No wiſe man ever wiſhed to be younger.

An

An idle reaſon, leſſens the weight of the good ones you gave before.

The motives of the beſt actions will not bear too ſtrict an enquiry. It is allowed, that the cauſe of moſt actions, good or bad, may be reſolved into the love of ourſelves; but the ſelf-love of ſome men, inclines them to pleaſe others; and the ſelf-love of others, is wholly employed in pleaſing themſelves. This makes the great diſtinction between virtue and vice. Religion is the beſt motive of all actions, yet religion is allowed to be the higheſt inſtance of ſelf-love.

When the world has once begun to uſe us ill, it afterwards continues the ſame treatment with leſs ſcruple or ceremony, as men do to a whore.

Old men view beſt at a diſtance with the eyes of their underſtanding, as well as with thoſe of nature.

Some people take more care to hide their wiſdom, than their folly.

Arbitrary power is the natural object of temptation to a prince, as wine or women to a young fellow, or a bribe to a judge, or avarice to old age, or vanity to a woman.

Anthony Henly's farmer dying of an aſthma, ſaid, well, if I can get this breath once out, I'll take care it ſhall never get in again.

The humour of exploding many things under the name of trifles, fopperies, and only imaginary goods, is a very falſe proof either of wiſdom or magnanimity, and a great check to virtuous actions. For inſtance, with regard to fame: there is in moſt

people a reluctance and unwillingneſs to be forgotten. We obſerve even among the vulgar, how fond they are to have an inſcription over their grave. It requires but little philoſophy to diſcover and obſerve that there is no intrinſick value in all this; however, if it be founded in our nature, as an incitement to virtue, it ought not to be ridiculed.

Complaint is the largeſt tribute heaven receives, and the ſincereſt part of our devotion.

The common fluency of ſpeech in many men, and moſt women, is owing to a ſcarcity of matter, and a ſcarcity of words; for whoever is a maſter of language, and has a mind full of ideas, will be apt in ſpeaking to heſitate upon the choice of both; whereas common ſpeakers have only one ſet of ideas, and one ſet of words to cloath them in; and theſe are always ready at the mouth: ſo people come faſter out of a church when it is almoſt empty, than when a crowd is at the door.

Few are qualified to ſhine in company; but it is in moſt mens power to be agreeable. The reaſon therefore why converſation runs ſo low at preſent, is not the defect of underſtanding, but pride, vanity, ill-nature, affectation, ſingularity, poſitiveneſs, or ſome other vice, the effect of a wrong education.

To be vain, is rather a mark of humility, than pride. Vain men delight in telling what honours have been done them, what great company they have kept, and the like, by which they plainly confeſs that theſe honours were more than their due,

and

and ſuch as their friends would not believe, if they had not been told: whereas a man truly proud, thinks the greateſt honours below his merit, and conſequently ſcorns to boaſt. I therefore deliver it as a maxim, that whoever deſires the character of a proud man, ought to conceal his vanity.

Law, in a free country, is, or ought to be, the determination of the majority of thoſe who have property in land.

One argument uſed to the diſadvantage of providence, I take to be a very ſtrong one in its defence. It is objected, that ſtorms and tempeſts, unfruitful ſeaſons, ſerpents, ſpiders, flies, and other noxious or troubleſome animals, with many more inſtances of the like kind, diſcover an imperfection in nature, becauſe human life would be much eaſier without them: but the deſign of Providence may clearly be perceived in this proceeding. The motions of the ſun and moon; in ſhort, the whole ſyſtem of the univerſe, as far as philoſophers have been able to diſcover and obſerve, are in the utmoſt degree of regularity and perfection; but wherever God has left to man the power of interpoſing a remedy by thought or labour, there he has placed things in a ſtate of imperfection, on purpoſe to ſtir up human induſtry, without which life would ſtagnate, or indeed rather could not ſubſiſt at all: *Curis acuunt mortalia corda.*

Praiſe is the daughter of preſent power.

How inconſiſtent is man with himſelf?

I have known ſeveral perſons of great fame for wiſdom in publick affairs and councils, governed by fooliſh ſervants:

I have known great miniſters, diſtinguiſhed for wit and learning, who preferred none but dunces:

I have known men of great valour, cowards to their wives:

I have known men of the greateſt cunning, perpetually cheated:

I knew three great miniſters, who could exactly compute and ſettle the accompts of a kingdom, but were wholly ignorant of their own œconomy.

The preaching of divines helps to preſerve well-inclined men in the courſe of virtue, but ſeldom or never reclaims the vicious.

Princes uſually make wiſer choices than the ſervants whom they truſt for the diſpoſal of places: I have known a prince, more than once, chooſe an able miniſter; but I never obſerved that miniſter to uſe his credit in the diſpoſal of an employment to a perſon whom he thought the fitteſt for it. One of the greateſt in this age, owned, and excuſed the matter, from the violence of parties, and the unreaſonableneſs of friends.

Small cauſes are ſufficient to make a man uneaſy, when great ones are not in the way: for want of a block he will ſtumble at a ſtraw.

Dignity, high ſtation, or great riches, are in ſome ſort neceſſary to old men, in order to keep the younger at a diſtance, who are otherwiſe too apt to inſult them upon the ſcore of their age.

Every man deſires to live long, but no man would be old.

Love of flattery, in moſt men, proceeds from the mean opinion they have of themſelves; in women, from the contrary.

If books and laws continue to increaſe as they have done for fifty years paſt, I am in ſome concern for future ages, how any man will be learned, or any man a lawyer.

Kings are commonly ſaid to have long hands; I wiſh they had as long ears.

Princes in their infancy, childhood, and youth, are ſaid to diſcover prodigious parts and wit, to ſpeak things that ſurprize and aſtoniſh; ſtrange, ſo many hopeful princes, and ſo many ſhameful kings! If they happen to die young, they would have been prodigies of wiſdom and virtue: if they live, they are often prodigies indeed, but of another ſort.

Politicks, as the word is commonly underſtood, are nothing but corruptions, and conſequently of no uſe to a good king, or a good miniſtry; for which reaſon courts are ſo over-run with politicks.

Silenus, the foſter-father of Bacchus, is always carried by an aſs, and has horns on his head. The moral is, that drunkards are led by fools, and have a great chance to be cuckolds.

Venus, a beautiful good-natured lady, was the goddeſs of love; Juno, a terrible ſhrew, the goddeſs of marriage: and they were always mortal enemies.

Thoſe who are againſt religion, muſt needs be fools; and therefore we read that of all animals, God refuſed the firſt-born of an aſs.

A very little wit is valued in a woman, as we are pleaſed with a few words ſpoken plain by a parrot.

A nice man is a man of naſty ideas.

Apollo was held the God of phyſick, and ſender of diſeaſes. Both were originally the ſame trade, and ſtill continue.

Old men and comets have been reverenced for the ſame reaſon; their long beards, and pretences to foretel events.

A perſon was aſked at court, what he thought of an ambaſſador, and his train, who were all embroidery and lace, full of bows, cringes, and geſtures; he ſaid, it was Solomon's importation, gold and apes.

There is a ſtory in Pauſanias of a plot for betraying a city diſcovered by the braying of an aſs: the cackling of geeſe ſaved the capitol, and Catiline's conſpiracy was diſcovered by a whore. Theſe are the only three animals, as far as I remember, famous in hiſtory as evidences and informers.

Moſt ſorts of diverſion in men, children, and other animals, are in imitation of fighting.

Auguſtus meeting an aſs with a lucky name, foretold himſelf good fortune. I meet many aſſes, but none of them have lucky names.

If a man makes me keep my diſtance, the comfort is, he keeps his at the ſame time.

Who can deny that all men are violent lovers of truth, when we ſee them ſo poſitive in their errors, which they will maintain out of their zeal to truth, although they contradict themſelves every day of their lives?

That was excellently obſerved, ſay I, when I read a paſſage in an author, where his opinion

agrees with mine. When we differ, there I pronounce him to be miſtaken.

Very few men, properly ſpeaking, live at preſent, but are providing to live another time.

As univerſal a practice as lying is, and as eaſy a one as it ſeems, I do not remember to have heard three good lies in all my converſation, even from thoſe who were moſt celebrated in that faculty.

AN

ESSAY

ON

NATIONAL REWARDS;

Being a Propoſal for beſtowing them on a Plan more durable and reſpectable.

Cuncti adſint, meritæque expectent præmia palmæ.
VIRG.

THERE is no maxim in politicks more indiſputable, than that a nation ſhould have many honours to reſerve for thoſe who do national ſervices. This raiſes emulation, cheriſhes public merit, and inſpires every one with an ambition which promotes the good of his country. The leſs expenſive theſe honours are to the publick, the more ſtill do they turn to its advantage.

The Romans abounded with theſe little honorary rewards, that, without conferring wealth and riches, gave only place and diſtinction to the perſon who received them. An oaken garland, to be worn on feſtivals and public ceremonies, was the glorious recompence of one who had covered a citizen in battle. A ſoldier would not only venture his life for a mural crown, but think the moſt hazardous enterprize ſufficiently re-paid by ſo noble a donation.

* This Eſſay is printed in the Guardian, No. 96.

But,

But, among all honorary rewards which are neither dangerous nor detrimental to the donor, I remember none ſo remarkable as the titles which are beſtowed by the emperor of China. "Theſe are "never given to any ſubject," ſays Monſieur Le Comte, "till the ſubject is dead. If he has pleaſed "his emperor to the laſt, he is called in all public "memorials by the title which the emperor con-"fers on him after his death, and his children "take their ranks accordingly." This keeps the ambitious ſubject in a perpetual dependence, making him always vigilant and active, and in every thing conformable to the will of his ſovereign.

There are no honorary rewards among us, which are more eſteemed by the perſons who receive them, and are cheaper to the prince, than the giving of medals. But there is ſomething in the modern manner of celebrating a great action in medals, which makes ſuch a reward much leſs valuable than it was among the Romans. There is generally but one coin ſtamped upon the occaſion, which is made a preſent to the perſon who is celebrated on it. By this means the whole fame is in his own cuſtody. The applauſe that is beſtowed upon him is too much limited and confined. He is in poſſeſſion of an honour which the world perhaps knows nothing of. He may be a great man in his own family; his wife and children may ſee the monument of an exploit, which the public in a little time is a ſtranger to. The Romans took a quite different method in this particular. Their medals were their current money. When an action

deſerved

deſerved to be recorded on a coin, it was ſtamped perhaps upon a hundred thouſand pieces of money, like our ſhillings or halfpence, which were iſſued out of the mint, and became current. This method publiſhed every noble action to advantage, and in a ſhort ſpace of time ſpread through the whole Roman empire. The Romans were ſo careful to preſerve the memory of great events upon their coins, that when any particular piece of money grew very ſcarce, it was often re-coined by a ſucceeding emperor, many years after the death of the emperor to whoſe honour it was firſt ſtruck.

A friend of mine drew up a project of this kind during the late miniſtry, which would then have been put in execution, had it not been too buſy a time for thoughts of that nature. As this project has been very much talked of by the gentleman above-mentioned to men of the greateſt genius as well as quality, I am informed there is now a deſign on foot for executing the propoſal which was then made, and that we ſhall have ſeveral farthings and halfpence charged on the reverſe with many of the glorious particulars of her majeſty's reign. This is one of thoſe arts of peace which may very well deſerve to be cultivated, and which may be of great uſe to poſterity.

As I have in my poſſeſſion the copy of the paper abovementioned, which was delivered to the late lord treaſurer, I ſhall here give the public a ſight of it; for I do not queſtion but that the curious part of my readers will be very well pleaſed to ſee

ſo much matter, and ſo many uſeful hints upon this ſubject, laid together in ſo clear and conciſe a manner:

" The Engliſh have not been ſo careful as other " polite nations to preſerve the memory of their " great actions and events on medals. Their ſub- " jects are few, their mottoes and devices mean, " and the coins themſelves not numerous enough " to ſpread among the people, or deſcend to poſ- " terity.

" The French have outdone us in theſe parti- " culars, and by the eſtabliſhment of a ſociety for " the invention of proper inſcriptions and deſigns, " have the whole hiſtory of their preſent king in a " regular ſeries of medals.

" They have failed, as well as the Engliſh, in " coining ſo ſmall a number of each kind, and " thoſe of ſuch coſtly metals that each ſpecies may " be loſt in a few ages, and is at preſent no where " to be met with but in the cabinets of the " curious.

" The ancient Romans took the only effectual " method to diſperſe and preſerve their medals, by " making them their current money.

" Every thing glorious or uſeful, as well in Peace " as War, gave occaſion to a different coin. Not " only an expedition, victory, or triumph, but " the exerciſe of a ſolemn devotion, the re- " miſſion of a duty or tax, a new temple, ſea- " port, or high-way, were tranſmitted to poſterity " after this manner.

" The

" The greateſt variety of devices are on their " copper money, which have moſt of the deſigns " that are to be met with on the gold and ſilver, " and ſeveral peculiar to that metal only. By this " means they were diſperſed into the remoteſt " corners of the empire, came into the poſſeſſion of " the poor as well as rich, and were in no danger " of periſhing in the hands of thoſe that might " have melted down coins of a more valuable " metal.

" Add to all this, that the deſigns were invented " by men of genius, and executed by a decree of " ſenate.

" It is therefore propoſed:

" 1. That the Engliſh farthings and halfpence be " re-coined upon the union of the two nations.

" 2. That they bear devices and inſcriptions al- " luding to all the moſt remarkable parts of her " majeſty's reign,

" 3. That there be a ſociety eſtabliſhed, for the " finding out of proper ſubjects, inſcriptions, and " devices.

" That no ſubject, inſcription, or device, be " ſtamped without the approbation of this ſociety; " nor, if it be thought proper, without the au- " thority of privy-council.

" By this means, medals, that are at preſent " only a dead treaſure, or mere curioſities, will be " of uſe in the ordinary commerce of life, and at " the ſame time, perpetuate the glories of her ma- " jeſty's reign, reward the labours of her greateſt " ſubjects, keep alive in the people a gratitude for public

" ſervices, and excite the emulation of poſterity.
" To theſe generous purpoſes nothing can ſo much
" contribute as medals of this kind, which are of
" undoubted authority, of neceſſary uſe and obſer-
" vation, not periſhable by time, nor confined to
" any certain place; properties not to be found in
" books, ſtatues, pictures, buildings, or any other
" monuments of illuſtrious actions."

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM